

WHAT COULD GO WRONG IN IRAQ ■ TAKI DEFENDS THE POPE

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The American Conservative

Coming to America

The Great Somali Welfare Hunt

By Roger D. McGrath



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Our Day on Drudge

After cyber-scribe Matt Drudge linked to Paul Schroeder's "Case Against Preemptive War," our web traffic skyrocketed, and we were swamped with letters. A sampling:

I have been a lifelong Democrat. After reading Mr. Schroeder's simply brilliant article, I realize that there are, indeed, so called "right wing" or "conservative" people who do NOT think in lockstep with the current administration. It was a rewarding and revelatory experience. Thank you...the *real* America is alive and well.

LORENZO LACOVARA
via email

I find your articles painfully long, and long-winded. I am a "real" conservative, not an eighty-plus banker who is probably your subscription base. I say, kick their ass in Iraq! Go W!

BART TRIESCH
via email

As a charter subscriber, I'd like to say great job! I couldn't be happier with *The American Conservative*. Too bad about *National Review*. Who are these guys? What do they want to "conserve"? I had subscribed since the age of 18. No more.

THOMAS J. WRONSKI
via email

I'm just sorry your magazine uses the name "American Conservative." I do not feel from what I have read that you have a conservative view as I have come to know it. See who is on board once we take the lead that the rest of the world is afraid take. Go George Bush!!!

DAVID AFFOLDER
via email

Mr. Schroeder's excellent essay, "Iraq: The Case Against Preemptive War" was both important and logical. It presented the

most compelling and profound argument against the war that I have heard thus far. It should be mandatory reading on the Hill and in the Oval Office. Thank you for making it available. Kudos to Mr. Schroeder and *The American Conservative*!

FRANK WEGORI
Clinton Township, Michigan

A friend forwarded Paul Schroeder's article to me, knowing it was in a publication that I (an unabashed leftist) am not likely to read. I was not only surprised but very impressed. I've bookmarked your site and hope to read more thoughtful commentaries like this.

L.H. LOWE
New York, NY

I am from Spain. As an avid reader of the Drudge Report, I ended up reading your article by Paul W. Schroeder. In the case of the "preemptive war," I was on the Bush side. My thoughts were, "He must be right. There must be facts about Iraq that I don't know." But after reading the essay, my opinion has changed. Excellent article, well written and very convincing, even for as strong a Bush supporter as I.

PEDRO HIDALGO
via email

Preemptive first strikes are entirely moral and acceptable for precisely the same reason that it is all right for me personally to shoot a rabid dog before the damned thing bites me. A man is just another organism, made of flesh and blood, just as is a horse or a bull. Accordingly it has no special claim. Its death is of no more innate importance than is that of a fish taken for food.

I would not have the slightest problem with ordering Hussein killed and Iraq destroyed. The same is true for North Korea. There is nothing wrong with assassination, and I only regret that there isn't more of it. Murder is at times

the best policy by far, because it is essentially a precision-guided weapon. What's wrong with it? If you can accept war, you can accept anything—as I do.

In war, people die because of the deliberate, planned acts of others. Better to get it over with when it's still small and easy. People are cheap, plentiful, and easily replaced. So, don't fret about them so much. There will be a billion more in the next 15 years.

The ideal condition for the world may be an American Imperium, with an absolute monopoly on nuclear weapons. This would be able to control humanity—such as it is—once and for all.

TATIANA COVINGTON
via email

It is clear that Paul W. Schroeder's bias against Israel is coloring his vision. His isolationist, libertarian brand of conservatism doesn't help either. The war against Iraq has nothing to do with Israel. It has to do with keeping the atomic bomb out of the hands of someone who set every Kuwaiti oil field ablaze. Saddam is not like Khrushchev, he is more volatile like Castro who in 1962 urged the Russians to nuke the U.S. from his soil.

MICHAEL D. WOLOK
Miami, Florida

Taki, Dueling Brits, etc.

HINT: CHECK THE MASTHEAD

Your editors wrote in "Bush Thus Far" that they "did not vote for President Bush." I'm going to be very impertinent and demand to know exactly who did you vote for?

If your magazine is going to be entrusted with the mantle American Conservative, you can't sit out the vote and you can't have voted for Al Gore.

I'm waiting for an answer. And don't try to hide behind "it's our right to vote in secret".

JERRY HOYT

Caddo, OK

BACK ALLEY BULLIES

Congratulations to Taki for a good explanation of why Bill Kristol deserves this award for the bravery of others. I have often felt that the neoconservatives' belligerence had something to do with their memories, real or vicarious, repressed or not, of ghetto existence when they were not permitted violence against their tormentors. They would all have done well in the back alleys of Odessa, starting with the thug of all thugs, Norman Podhoretz, following through with Richard Perle and Paul Wolfowitz, to the epigones represented by Billy Kristol.

I recently read an expose in the *New York Times* about Paul Wolfowitz. He apparently learned from his father that the Bolshevik capture of Warsaw was intolerable in 1920 and that is why the elder Wolfowitz left for America. Actually, French-led Polish troops successfully defended Warsaw from the Bolsheviks, but Wolfowitz *père* was just bragging about his anti-Communism and Wolfowitz *fils* bought it hook, line, and sinker. That tells us something about how these neocons use and abuse history.

NORMAN RAVITCH

Savannah, GA

BRITS AT WAR

Stuart Reid's picture of a Britain championing at the Yankee bit was familiar in parts (I am an American, resident in the UK for the whole of my adult life). There was nasty comment in the British press after 9/11. The *Telegraph's* Peter Simple, cited by Reid, came a far second to the *Guardian's* "A Bully with a Bloody Nose is Still a Bully." Some three thousand dead. A bloody nose? Terrific. But to

offer this atypical rubbish and the other comments from political has-beens as genuinely representative of Britain's developing relationship to the United States, well, really, *il exagère*. As for solidarity during the Blitz, America came late, but we did arrive. Complaining about the lateness after a war in which so many Americans died is a very, very cheap shot. If it were not for that arrival, Mr. Reid's letter would be written in German, as he well knows.

As to the Middle East: the problem with Iraq is not the 15 million people who are mostly impoverished desert-dwellers. It is the effective minority of skilled scientists who helped Saddam Hussein to develop and use chemical weapons of mass destruction and came within an ace of developing nuclear weapons—only to be stopped by Israeli destruction of the reactor at Osirak. Bar a very few defectors who have confirmed that this work continues, those people are still there, still working, and now training al-Qaeda's people in the use of biological and other weapons of mass destruction. The bloody attacks in New York and Washington were not accomplished by nations, but by a handful of the sort of vicious terrorists who are now being trained in Baghdad. To say that we should ignore all that and shrug off Iraq as a pack of primitive rag-heads is, pardon me, disingenuous to a fault—a fault which bids fair to become lethal.

And just for the record, al-Qaeda's "network" is not intact. Where we attacked it in Afghanistan it was destroyed. To describe this as being of "no effect" is also disingenuous. The task remains of destroying it elsewhere, including within Iraq—a job that is being deliberately, carefully, and stupidly impeded by the same Europeans Reid praises for their wisdom. Some wisdom.

HERB GREER

Salisbury, England

P.S. There is no such thing as the United States of Europe. There is a corrupt, ill-managed, economically chaotic, quarrelling, and rather disunited group of continental nations using a funny-money currency called the Euro and subject to the economically destructive diktats of the undemocratic European Commission. British hostility to its three-quarter membership of this group (Brits do not use the Euro) makes anti-Americanism on this island look by comparison like an urgent invitation to an ever-warmer political embrace.

Stuart Reid responds:

Herb Greer is in such mortal terror of Saddam Hussein that he has lost the ability to understand what he reads. There is no room for me to deal with all his paranoid fantasies and slippery non-sequiturs, but let me urge him to look again at my article, and he will see that I did not complain that America entered the war late. On the contrary. What I wrote was: "In June 1940, 86 percent of Americans said they did not want to go to war with Germany. And who can blame them? Hitler was a menace to Europe, but not to the United States."

As for the war against Afghanistan, it is true that among the thousands killed by U.S. bombs there were a few al-Qaeda spear-carriers, but most of the bad guys escaped. Far from being an outstanding success, as Greer clearly believes, Operation Enduring Freedom was, in terms of its stated aims, a monumental failure.

The American Conservative welcomes letters to the editor. Submit letters by e-mail to letters@amcon-mag.com, by fax to 703-875-3350, or by mail to 1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120, Arlington, VA 22209. Please include your name, address, and phone number. We reserve the right to edit all correspondence for space and clarity.

The Korean Contradiction

AFTER SAILING PAST CONGRESS and running the pundit gauntlet without major contest, the Bush doctrine of preemption looked Baghdad-bound. But then an unlikely detractor rose in protest. It wasn't some wizened statesmen or history-steeped

academic, but a leper in the world community—the player least suited to argue but best positioned to show why the emperor's war plan has no clothes.

Enter North Korea: hermitic, unpredictable, and apparently bookended by a pair of nuclear weapons. The regime that drops passenger jets from the air, assassinated half the South Korean Cabinet, kidnaps its Japanese neighbors, and sells ballistic missiles to Syria, Libya, and Iran makes Saddam Hussein look like an amateur. Line up his 20 Scuds against Kim Jong Il's uranium, his sanction-starved army against a million North Korean Spartans. Add the danger Pyongyang poses to the 37,000 American troops stationed at the border and its proximity to every U.S. installation in Asia, and only Mr. Bush could explain why Iraq is the greater threat.

Only he couldn't. After no conclusive evidence linked Saddam to 9/11, we were told that potential danger necessitated preemptive action. The administration's entire justification gamed on possibility, not proof—rationale akin to carrying an umbrella on a cloudy day but not a stormy one. This illogic exposed, the president was left sputtering that Baghdad is “unique.”

Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz suggested that “oil and Israel” rather than fear of terrorism or a nascent nuclear program motivated the U.S. battle plan. Bush could not afford equal candor, but within days of the North Korean revelation, he dropped regime change from the Iraq agenda and signaled that Saddam might be able to self-medicate. “If he were to meet all the conditions of the United Nations, the conditions that I've described very clearly,” President Bush announced, “that in itself would signal that the regime has changed.” Colin Powell claimed, “Regime change came from the previous administration.” “The goal here is to disarm Saddam Hussein... to test his willingness to cooperate,” said a newly conciliatory Condoleezza Rice.

So Iraq wins a temporary stay. But what of North Korea's nuclear confession? First comes the frightening possibility that we scheduled this showdown. An

unnamed U.S. official told the *Washington Post*, “the North Koreans decided to go ahead with the [nuclear] program after President Bush identified the country as a member of an international axis of evil.” Compound that ineptitude with a grave sin of omission: The administration has known since last summer that Pyongyang had defied the 1994 weapons accord and said nothing lest the news sidetrack its war. Thus the White House exaggerated the Iraq threat to serve its political ends while ignoring the North Korean certainty to suit its empty philosophy.

But more alarming than accelerating proliferation or withholding information is the object lesson we've now broadcast to despots across the world. Think of developing weapons like ours, and we'll send in marines. Do it, and we'll fly in diplomats and increase your foreign aid. What better incentive to buy nuclear life insurance?

Predictably, the neocon answer is wider war. As one weekly editorializes, “The lasting solution to the threat they pose is a change of regime in both places.” But their scenario guarantees but one lasting feature — war *ad infinitum*.

North Korea must be contained. So too Iraq. But neither is ours to colonize, and their juxtaposition reveals the duplicity of the Bush doctrine. Kim yields Saddam no edge on tyranny, establishing his bona fides by importing an Italian chef while a tenth of his population starved. He pockets \$1 billion in annual arms sales and has diverted far more in foreign aid. Yet we seek a “peaceful resolution.” Because the Great Leader does not perch atop the world's second-largest oil reserve? Because he never embarrassed a presidential parent? In part, but what distinguishes Iraq from North Korea—other than the absence of nuclear weapons—reveals the blighted core of preemptive war. If we invade Iraq, logic and justice notwithstanding, it will be, quite simply, because we can. Not because it sheltered al-Qaeda or threatened our cities or stocked nuclear weapons, but because the empire-builders sought an easy mark, and in the absence of principle settled for excuse.

—The Editors

A Dangerous Form of Altruism

ONCE DURING THE COLD WAR, as America was defying the Soviets with little help and less gratitude from those we were defending, I muttered to a friend about our

"ungrateful allies." "What other kind are there?" he retorted.

Indeed. And speaking of ingratitude, imagine how the Mother Country must have regarded her colonial subjects circa 1778.

In the French and Indian War, she had invested British blood battling France to liberate North America. How did America show her gratitude? We refused to pay taxes for the war. We balked at quartering British troops. We cheered hot-heads who threw British tea into Boston harbor. We butchered a British battalion on Concord road. We rebelled. And in 1778, we entered an alliance with the King of France, from whom the British army had rescued us.

"What a pack of ingrates!" George III must have said to Lord North, "Run these traitors down and hang every last one of them!"

But what the king saw as treason, Washington and Jefferson saw as loyalty to country. The old bonds had been dissolved in the fire of war. And in making an alliance with the mortal enemy of our Mother Country, we were putting America's interests first.

In every foreign war of the 19th century, U.S. presidents did the same. In 1812, we declared war on Britain when she was in a death struggle with Napoleon, in the hope of seizing Canada. In 1846, we declared war on Mexico to keep Texas and seized the Southwest. In 1898, McKinley was stampeded into war over Cuba but made the best of it by annexing Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Hawaii.

In lives lost, these were small wars with big gains. But in 1917, Wilson took us into the Great War "to make the world safe for democracy." What vital interest was in peril? None. What did we get out of it? Bolshevism, fascism, Nazism, and World War II.

Whether the German, Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman empires defeated the British, French, and Russian empires was not worth the 116,000 American-dead and 200,000 wounded it cost. World War I was but another imperial war on a blood-soaked continent toward which our Founding Fathers had wisely turned their backs.

What calls this history to mind is the latest crisis that could drag us into war: the revelation that North Korea lied when she said she would give up developing atomic weapons if we would provide the food and fuel to keep the brutal hermit kingdom in business.

Pyongyang has been caught producing enriched uranium. And as we seek to isolate North Korea, with her 11,000 artillery tubes a few miles from 37,000 U.S. troops, who stands by us? South Korea and Japan prefer appeasement. China refuses to condemn her ally. Whatever one may think of the ingratitude of South Korea and Japan, whom we have defended for half a century, they are acting in their national interests. Isolating North Korea until she shuts down all nuclear plants is, to them, not worth the risk of provoking a war with the armed, dangerous, and unpredictable regime of Kim Jong Il.

But this raises a question: Why is a nuclear weapon on a North Korean missile a greater threat to us than to Seoul or Tokyo? Why are we confronting Pyongyang alone? Why are we risking war? It is not our homeland that is threatened here.

South Korea, with twice the population of the North and thirty times her GDP, can defend herself. Japan is even more capable. Why then are we committed in perpetuity to risk war to defend both of these nations when neither is obligated to defend us?

How do our security treaties with Japan and Korea strengthen our security? Now that the Soviet threat no longer exists, are not these "entangling alliances" a dangerous form of altruism? Would it not serve U.S. interests to inform Tokyo and Seoul that we intend to dissolve the old security treaties, remove our troops from their territory, and let them deal with Pyongyang as they deem best?

South Korea and Japan could appease North Korea or build-up their forces, conventional or even nuclear, to contain her. While that might complicate life for Beijing, let the Chinese deal with it.

America should disengage from her Asian alliances and let the nuclear powers there—China, Russia, India, Pakistan, North Korea—and the potential nuclear powers—Japan, South Korea, Taiwan—establish their own balance of power. For there is nothing in all of Asia worth a nuclear war or another Vietnam. Or is there?

By playing Wyatt Earp to the world, throwing down every third-rate gunslinger, we are one day going to get shot by a rogue state. When we do, Wyatt will turn in his badge. Let's do it now. ■

[IMMIGRANTS]

FITTING THE PROFILE

We've heard much about egg on the faces of the TV pundits who flooded the airwaves during the month of the sniper attacks with claims that the Washington area sniper was certainly a white male. Blacks too can be serial killers, we now learn, and the life of John Mohammad is undergoing great scrutiny.

We are hearing less about John Lee Malvo, the seventeen-year-old Jamaican immigrant who was Mohammad's partner in sniping. Malvo was an illegal alien, an "undocumented immigrant" according to the current euphemism.

Truth is, Malvo does fit a certain profile: save for his regrettable tendency to shoot people in gas stations and shopping malls, he is very much the kind of person the open borders crowd wants to bring into the United States. Appropriately multicultural (he is from Jamaica, land of reggae) he enhances America's diversity; lacking much education, he could be counted on—if he were one day to take a job—to further drive down the wages of America's less skilled workers. For the *Wall Street Journal* and its "there shall be open borders" philosophy, and the neonconservatives and multiculti liberals who yearn to turn America into a "universal" nation, Mr. Malvo fell just short of ideal.

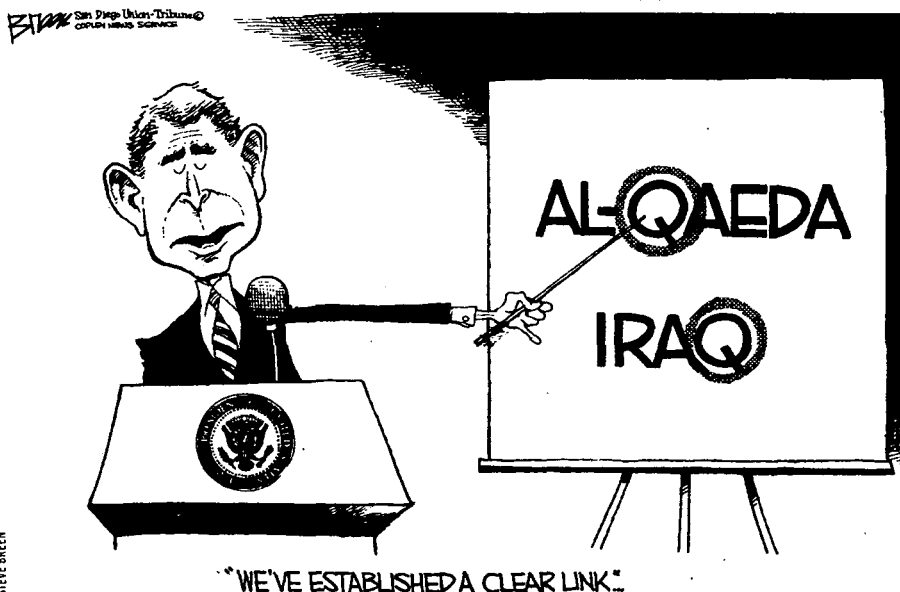
[HISTORY]

DEATH OF THE WASP

In a recent *New York Times* review of David Rockefeller's autobiography, David Brooks touches on "one of the great mysteries of the 20th century: whatever happened to the Protestant Establishment?" For 200 years they occupied the commanding heights of American society and then, "sometime around in the 1960's... poof!... they were gone."

Brooks ascribes the collapse to that establishment's diffident and conflict-

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adverse demeanor. When they came under cultural assault in the 1960's, the WASPs "didn't even put up a fight." Sometimes, as Brooks rightly notes, the assault came from their own children; and WASP patricians found themselves struck dumb when their beliefs came under that kind of fire. In general, fighting back just didn't seem like good manners.

There is some truth in this. But the story of the fall of WASPdom cannot really be told without reference to the groups that challenged the WASPs and eventually superseded them. The tumultuous '60s were not in the main a generational civil war fought within the families of the old American establishment. As serious studies of the decade show (a good beginning is Stanley Rothman's and Robert Lichter's seminal *The Roots of Radicalism: Jews, Christians, and the New Left*) the Sixties revolution was in great part Jewish in its inception; the Jerry Rubin/Abbie Hoffman battle cry of "we're coming for your children" hit at the generation gap that had

opened in Christian and especially WASP families.

That gap hardly existed amongst the families of "liberal parents and radical children" that spawned the vanguard of the campus revolt. Mark Rudd's mother drove in from New Jersey to deliver hot meals to her son while he was spearheading the 1968 shutdown of Columbia University and told reporters how proud the boy made her. The lion's share of the early SDS membership comprised red diaper babies, the children who grew up in the orbit of an American Communist Party whose cadre was, to say the least, not especially WASPy. Their campaign against "the establishment" did not lead to the sort of wrenching intra-family splits, disinheritances, and even suicides that wracked the first families of WASPdom and left no emotional wreckage behind.

Brooks himself has written an often perceptive book about the new post-WASP American establishment—and coined a nice de-ethnicized neologism

("bobo" for bourgeois bohemian) to depict its geist. Nonetheless, this rich and important subject still awaits its true historian.

[DIVERSITY]

MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS?

"No State shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws," says the Constitution's 14th Amendment. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 forbids racial discrimination in any program receiving federal assistance, and the Supreme Court says state university admissions policies that draw a line "on the basis of race and ethnic status" are unlawful.

But that is what the University of Michigan does, with far lower GPA/SAT cutoffs for black and Hispanic applicants than for whites and Asians. Two cases currently challenge Michigan's system. Rejected white law school applicant Barbara Grutter sued; Michigan admitted she would almost certainly have got in if black or Hispanic. The Federal district court found Michigan's claimed interest in a "diverse" student body did not excuse racial discrimination and ordered the university to stop. Oddly, the 6th Circuit insisted on full review before reversing 5-4. Grutter has petitioned the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, rejected white undergraduate applicants Jennifer Gratz and Patrick Hamacher sued on the same grounds. Again, the district court declared Michigan unlawfully discriminated on the basis of race. Their appeal is with the 6th Circuit.

The Center for Individual Rights, representing Grutter, Gratz, and Hamacher, has boldly asked the Supreme Court to supersede the 6th Circuit and take the Gratz case, citing its great national importance. The Court should. Universities still discriminate, thanks to its unclear *Bakke* decision and conflicting

rulings in the circuits. The Michigan cases ask the question clearly: May state universities use diversity to excuse discrimination? Michigan, which has fought furiously for affirmative action, resists the Supreme Court showdown. What does it fear? As CIR's Curt Levey says: "Now is not the time to shrink from the fight."

—Howard Sutherland

[WAR]

BLOWBACK

If President Bush carries through with his threats to make war on Saddam Hussein, experience teaches that the Iraqi people will suffer far more than the dictator. When the U.S. shipped out after Gulf War I, we left behind some 800 tons of depleted uranium-238, a radioactive contaminate with a half-life of 4.5 billion years. Ingested or inhaled, it can produce lung, kidney, and bone cancer, and children are up to 20 times more susceptible than adults.

According to a recent report from the Iraqi city of Basra, over the past decade childhood leukemia has increased twelve times, and the incidence of birth defects in exposed regions has doubled. All this while U.S. sanctions keep chemotherapy drugs and antibiotics from reaching the suffering children.

Helen Caldicott, president of the Nuclear Policy Research Institute writes, "The American military's own studies prior to Desert Storm warned that aerosol uranium exposure under battlefield conditions could lead to cancers of the lung and bone, kidney damage, non-malignant lung disease, neurocognitive disorders, and chromosomal damage." Those preparing for an encore are either ignorant of these effects—both for civilian populations and American personnel—or, worse yet, are too intent on building an empire to heed an innocent cry. ■

The American Conservative

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[coming to america]

The Great Somali Welfare Hunt

The Refugee Act of 1980 has turned thousands of Somali Bantu into American dependents. Millions more “refugees” may be eligible for resettlement in your neighborhood.

By Roger D. McGrath

THE DECONSTRUCTION OF America is well underway. This has been clear to anyone living in California since the 1970s. Back then I remember talking with people who lived out of state about the changes that were being wrought by immigration, both legal and illegal, to California from countries of the Third World. No one could quite believe that the changes were as drastic and far-reaching as I described. Many considered me an alarmist. Those who did not thought that what I described was peculiar to California. The last decade has changed all that. What began in California thirty years ago is now happening everywhere. I would like to say that I take a perverse delight in having reality smack those nonbelievers in the face. I don't. The America that I love, the America that I joined the Marine Corps to defend, the America of my ancestors, is being destroyed.

The latest community to enjoy the delights of Third World mass immigra-

tion is Lewiston, Maine, which, since February 2001, has been the destination for hundreds of Somali Muslims. The first Muslim to arrive in the town actually got there in May 1965, but his stay was brief. He was there to fight Sonny Liston in a rematch. The year before, as Cassius Clay, he took Liston's crown in a bizarre seven-round battle in Miami that saw the dreaded Liston, a 7-1 favorite, quit while sitting on his stool. “The fix was in,” was the consensus. Between fights Clay converted to Islam and adopted the name Muhammad Ali. He won his second fight with Liston, a 7-5 favorite this time, in an equally bizarre one-round match. Again came the cry, “The fix was in.” Little did the citizens of Lewiston realize that, 36 years later, Muslims would begin arriving in their town again. This time they would stay. Once more the fix seems to be in.

Lewiston, a former mill town of 36,000 on the Androscoggin River, was virtually all white when the federal cen-

sus was taken in 2000. Blacks, with 383 people, accounted for 1.1% of the population. No other nonwhite group accounted for more than a fraction of a percent. The exact percentage for whites was recorded as 97.3. With the mills shut down and a less than robust economy, it would seem an unlikely place for Somalis to flock to. Nonetheless, upwards of 2,000 have already done so, and more are on the way.

The problem goes back to the Refugee Act of 1980, which amended the Immigration and Nationality Act and changed a traditional American policy of favoring refugees from Communist countries. The act put the United States in line with the United Nations by redefining “refugee” more broadly to include anyone “who is unwilling or unable to return to his country of nationality or habitual residence because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, member-



ship in a particular social group, or political opinion.” Potentially half the world falls under the definition. The Refugee Act also provided for both a regular flow and the emergency admission of refugees as well as federal monies for their resettlement.

In 1999, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) declared the Somali Bantu “refugees,” and the United States agreed to resettle them. The ancestral home of these particular Bantu was Tanzania, but Arab slave traders took them to Somalia during the 18th and 19th centuries. Despite the end of slavery during the 20th century, the transplanted Bantu remained less than equal in Somalia. They were restricted to jobs considered demeaning, excluded from the Somali clan sys-

tem, and referred to by pejorative names, generally meaning something like “lowly slave.” Most of them lived in the Juba River valley of southern Somalia. When civil war erupted with the overthrow of the dictator Mohammed Siad Barre in 1991, they fell prey to various warlords. Mostly lacking arms themselves, they were dispossessed of their land and property by whatever faction temporarily took power. Eventually, more than 12,000 of the Somali Bantu crossed into Kenya and settled in a UN sponsored refugee camp at Dadaab in eastern Kenya, where more than 100,000 other Somali had also fled.

Logic would suggest that these 12,000 black, African Muslims be resettled in their former homeland, the black, African nation of Tanzania, which is

more than a third Muslim and borders Kenya, instead of being transported thousands of miles to the United States. But somehow, the UN commissioners and American officials think the good, old U.S.A. is just right for the Somali Bantu—and other Somali refugees as well.

Most of the early arrivals in the United States settled in Clarkston, next-door to Atlanta, but problems quickly developed with local blacks who, the Somali contend, preyed on them. A few Somali had problems with another form of American diversity. Mohammed Abdi said that he was resettled north of Atlanta in a “war zone” between Vietnamese and Mexican gangs. Moreover, Somalis soon learned that welfare benefits and public housing were more gen-

erous and better elsewhere, especially in New England. By February 2001, they had discovered Lewiston, and the influx began. The numbers of those arriving accelerated last summer, exceeding 100 a month. Although it is difficult to get an exact fix on the figures, it seems that more than half of all Somalis in Lewiston are on the dole. Welfare spending has more than doubled since their arrival.

One of the Somalis who has a job is Abdiaziz Ali, a 31-year-old father of five who arrived in Lewiston last year. Ali is a welfare caseworker. He greets new arrivals, puts them on welfare, and finds them housing. He is happy to be in Lewiston, where benefits are substantial, schools good, and crime low. He himself was robbed twice by local blacks in Atlanta.

Mohammed Maye, the president of the African Community and Refugee Center in Clarkston, has a map of Lewiston on the wall of his office. "Go to Maine," he advises Somalis. He has recently opened a second office in Lewiston. Abdullahi Abdullahi, the president of the Somali Community Development Organization in Clarkston, tells Somalis that, unlike Georgia, Maine has terribly cold winters, but "the welfare system is better." Better for sure. Lewiston provides welfare to anyone in need, and the state picks up half the tab. Recipients are allowed a generous five years of assistance before benefits are terminated, and, even at that point, extensions are not difficult to obtain. Single parents can stay on welfare and go to college. Public housing is also available, although, because of the influx of Somalis, there is now a waiting list. More than a third of the apartments at Hillview, Lewiston's largest public housing project, are occupied by Somalis, many of them single mothers with large broods of children. The fathers are unaccounted for or still in Georgia or

Africa. Those who are unable to obtain public housing are eligible for Section 8 vouchers, which the federal government provides to subsidize rental of private housing.

Just where all the Somalis will eventually be employed is a mystery. The mills of Lewiston, once upon a time,

ately attacked by the former mayor, Kaileigh Tara, who said she "wanted to cry" when she read Raymond's letter. Somali leaders said he is "an ill-informed leader who is bent toward bigotry." The usual terms xenophobe and racist were bandied about. A protest march of some 200 Somalis and their

WHEN THE PRESIDENT OF THE LEWISTON CITY COUNCIL OFFERED TO HIRE 30 SOMALIS AT \$8 AN HOUR TO HOLD WARNING SIGNS AT ROAD CONSTRUCTION SITES, FEW SHOWED ANY INTEREST. THOSE WHO DID WANTED TO WORK NO MORE THAN A HALF-DAY, 10 A.M. TO 2 P.M.

produced a quarter of all American textiles. Across the Androscoggin River, the factories of Auburn turned out shoes by the thousands. Foreign competition has destroyed those industries. Like many other communities in the United States, Lewiston has tried to reinvent itself and create a service-based economy. Banking, insurance, health-care, and the like, however, do not provide the blue-collar jobs that have sustained generations of immigrants with few skills and limited English. Perhaps the demise of the old industries is of little consequence to the Somalis. When Renee Bernier, the president of the Lewiston city council, offered to hire 30 Somalis at \$8 an hour to hold warning signs at road construction sites, few showed any interest. Those who did wanted to work no more than a half-day, 10 a.m. to 2 p.m.

With the welfare system, public housing, and, to a rapidly increasing degree, the schools creaking under the strain of the Somalis, some in Lewiston have dared to speak out. Recently, mayor Laurier Raymond, in a public letter, asked the Somali leaders to discourage the migration to Lewiston, saying the city was "maxed out financially, physically and emotionally." He was immedi-

white sympathizers traveled several blocks from a downtown Methodist church to Lewiston's first mosque, a converted grocery store on Lisbon Street. The U.S. Department of Justice was called upon to conduct an investigation to ensure that the Somalis are not discriminated against. The UN cannot be far behind.

Meanwhile, the 71-year-old Raymond, a former probate judge, has been brought to heel. He met with local Somali leaders at city hall and vowed to co-operate with the Somali community to reduce tensions in Lewiston. After the meeting, the Somalis issued a written statement saying, "Like all families, we have our misunderstandings, but families draw strength from resolving their issues." Raymond had evidently been operating under the misapprehension that Muslim Somali Bantu were not part of his family.

Raymond's new family practices female genital mutilation, specifically clitorrectomy. Termed "female circumcision" by the culturally sensitive and euphemistically inclined, the barbaric practice is common among African Muslims. Not infrequently the clitoris is cut out without the benefit of anesthesia or surgical instruments. Broken bottles

or tin can lids occasionally serve as scalpels. This means that often not only is the clitoris cut out but that portions of the labia are also cut away or severely damaged. According to reports from the refugee camps in Kenya, hundreds of girls are being rushed through the mutilation because U.S.-sponsored cultural orientation classes have informed the refugees that the practice is illegal in the United States. The Somali Bantu usually excise the clitoris when girls reach the age of eight or nine. In recent weeks, girls as young as two have undergone the ordeal.

More than 12,000 Somali Bantu have now been transferred from the Dadaab camp, near the border with Somalia, across 600 miles of Kenya to the Kakuma camp in the northwest. Next stop, the United States. The Somalis do not have to worry about using their credit card air miles—it is all courtesy of Uncle Sam. There are plenty more refugees in Kenya. The UNHCR counts nearly 200,000, most of them Somalis but large numbers of Sudanese as well. The Somali Bantu could be just the beginning.

Those Somali already in Lewiston have found what they call their “dream place.” Nonetheless, they understand that there are other dream places in the United States, and they mean to find them. Following their ancient practice of “*sahan*,” they send young men out in all directions to find not water and good grazing, as in Somalia, but public housing and generous welfare benefits. The tribe then follows. “They came in droves off the buses,” said Lewiston council president Bernier, and “some made the welfare office their first stop.” The practice of *sahan* has become more sophisticated in the United States. The Somalis use the Internet to access the websites of states and towns across the nation, checking crime rates, welfare programs, housing, and schools. Employment

opportunities are evidently a low priority. This certainly removes the main obstacle for most of us relocating to dream places. Abdiaziz Ali, the welfare caseworker, is not shy about announcing the Somalis’ intentions. “We can spread out—anywhere we want.”

Anywhere, for now, means mostly towns in New England. Holyoke, Massachusetts has been targeted for Somali Bantu settlement by a coalition of religious charities. The coalition has received a million-dollar grant from the federal government to establish the Somalis in the town famous for the first women’s college. Holyoke city councilors, however, say that even with the grant the costs of absorbing the Somalis would be prohibitive. By a 12-2 vote the councilors passed a resolution that stated, “The city does not have the resources to care for, educate, train, house or protect said individuals.” The resolution concluded by firmly proclaiming that the councilors “do not support the decision to place the refugees in our city.” Federal officials

Holyoke has to be alone in this, but if nobody’s going to do it, we have to try.” Actually, the federal government does not have to do this to Holyoke or to any town in America. The American people, in poll after poll, have voiced their opposition to our current immigration policies. We are under no obligation to destroy the ethnic, religious, and cultural traditions that have built this country. We are under no obligation to destroy the homogeneity of small towns in America.

With upwards of 130,000 Somalis in Kenyan camps hoping to be resettled in the United States, towns throughout America might soon have the opportunity to enjoy the diversity that a thousand or two African Muslims will bring them. Meanwhile, we send our boys overseas to fight and die, ostensibly to protect the United States. One of those boys who died in Somalia, in our ill-conceived raid on Mogadishu—so brilliantly dramatized in “Black Hawk Down”—was SSgt. Thomas J. Field, Army Ranger and native son of Lisbon,

THERE ARE PLENTY MORE REFUGEES IN KENYA. THE UNITED NATIONS COUNTS NEARLY 200,000. THE SOMALI BANTU ARE JUST THE BEGINNING.

say the local townsfolk have no control over the resettlement grant and cannot prevent the Somalis from moving to Holyoke. Local sentiment against the anticipated arrival of the Somalis has been so strong that the charities coalition canceled a public presentation and slide show on the plight of the refugees. I suspect the slide show did not include photos of mutilated genitalia.

Holyoke mayor Michael Sullivan tried to calm the citizens, saying, “Don’t blame the victims. The victims are the city—and the Bantus. It’s not fair that

just downriver from Lewiston. Local folk got the state highway that connects Lisbon and Lewiston named in his honor. In Lewiston, the highway becomes Lisbon Street, which now features Lewiston’s first mosque, regularly crowded with Somalis. May God rest your soul brave young man—because somewhere “the fix is in.” ■

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[settlers created america]

The “Nation of Immigrants” Myth

The creed is half true at most and is a weapon for those who want to dissolve this country.

By Howard Sutherland

“WE ARE A NATION of immigrants.” It is every American politician’s incantation, usually prefatory to some shibboleth lauding “strength in our diversity.” The creed of America as nation-of-immigrants (hereafter the “NOI creed”) is now unquestioned by Americans and foreigners alike.

The NOI creed’s assertion of national rootlessness justifies official multiculturalism and mass immigration. American schoolchildren are taught that the Statue of Liberty is a monument to immigration and that *e pluribus unum* on our currency celebrates the melting pot. Deutsche Bank recently published an analyst’s report, by a Polish immigrant in New York, lamenting a perceived rise in anti-immigration sentiments in the United States and instructing us that here “actually everybody is an immigrant,” so restricting immigration “would be devastating and virtually unthinkable.”

The creed is a half-truth but useful to social engineers transforming this country in ways alien to our history and heritage. Immigrants in the millions have come to the United States, most in waves beginning in the 1840s. Many immigrants and their descendants have contributed mightily to America. Others have contributed to the crime statistics.

Some tried America, then went home. Nevertheless, the NOI creed is literally false: Despite thirty-plus years of mass immigration set off by the Immigration Reform Act of 1965, the vast majority of Americans are still American-born children of American-born parents. It is also historically false: Scores of millions of Americans are neither immigrants nor descendants of immigrants.

As for the Statue of Liberty, it is a gift from France to honor the centennial of American independence. Emma Lazarus’ “Give me your tired...”—a *cri-de-coeur* against Russian pogroms—is a later add-on. *E pluribus unum* explicitly commemorates the union of thirteen British colonies into one nation. The statue and the motto do not celebrate immigration; they salute the achievement of the settlers who founded those colonies and, in time, won independence from their Mother Country. It was the settlers’ nation, not empty wilderness, that later gave immigrants a new home.

To test the truth of the NOI creed, ask what a true nation of immigrants would be. Absent a founding group or majority, it would be no nation at all, but a random gathering of people of assorted races, religions, and nationalities, united only by their presence in the same land. With

no native culture to provide national unity, the population would tend to fragment on racial and ethnic lines, ensuring division and strife as groups pursue their interests at each other’s expense. That may be our multicultural future. It is not the American past.

American history is the story of a varied nation with a distinct founding culture, one that remained dominant while assimilating—and being subtly changed by—later arrivals. That American culture is British, largely English, in origin, traditions, and religion. This article’s language is one small example.

By 1776, British colonists—mostly English, but with strong Scottish, Welsh, and Irish contingents, along with New York’s Dutch colonials and later German arrivals—had created an American branch of British civilization. At the time of the Declaration of Independence, they were long-settled: almost 170 years in Virginia, over 150 in Massachusetts. At great effort—and at the expense of the Indians they uprooted and the African slaves they imported—colonial Americans formed a nation in their own image. The diversity of their settlements reflected the variety of their British origins. David Hackett Fischer’s magisterial *Albion’s Seed* traces four great British colonial migrations that leave

their mark still: Puritans from East Anglia to New England, Cavaliers from the West Country to Virginia, Quakers from the Midlands to the Delaware, and northern Britons, including the Scots-Irish, to the American backcountry.

Revolutionary Americans, the United States' founders, were fairly homogeneous: 80 percent of British origin (60 percent English, 20 percent Scottish and Scots-Irish), most of the rest Dutch and German—the great majority American-born. Overwhelmingly Christian, 98 percent were Protestants. (Not included in these percentages are American Indians, who had no part in the political life of the colonies, and African slaves and freemen, who were largely excluded from political and social life.) These descendants of colonial settlers were American natives, if by America we mean the United States.

Samuel Huntington makes a useful distinction between the settlers of a country and immigrants to it. It helps answer whether the United States is truly a nation of immigrants or an organic nation with an ethnic and cultural core: a nation of the settlers' posterity augmented by immigrants and their posterity. In Huntington's words:

Immigrants are people who leave one country, one society, and move to another society. But there has to be a recipient society to which the immigrants move. In our case, the recipient society was created by the settlers who came here in the 17th and 18th centuries. ... They came in groups to create new societies up and down the Atlantic seaboard. They weren't immigrating to some existing society; indeed, they often did whatever they could to destroy whatever existed here in the way of Indian society. ... It was [the settlers' Anglo-Protestant] society

and culture that...attracted subsequent generations of immigrants to this country.

One demographic study concluded that, had there been no immigration after 1790, the settlers' posterity alone—including African slaves' and freemen's descendants—would have grown by 1990 to approximately half the size of the actual population, which implies roughly half of Americans still have roots in the founding stock whose existence the NOI creed denies.

The federal structure the Founding Fathers erected for the United States is firmly grounded in their British heritage and American experience. No surprise: they were overwhelmingly of British descent, mostly English. Those who signed the Declaration and the Constitution knew of Locke and Enlightenment *philosophes* but knew their native law best: the English Common Law. Common Law remains the bedrock of every state's law, with the unique exception of Louisiana. The rights of Englishmen were the animating spirit of the Bill of Rights, meant to secure them more effectively in America than they often were in England.

Despite the evidence of American history, the NOI creed is entrenched, as is its corollary: the idea that the United States is a "propositional nation" with no ethnic basis, defined entirely by allegiance to the Declaration's propositions. It is worth asking why. Acknowledging that America is a nation like others, with a native stock and traditions, does not deny the contributions of millions of immigrants and their descendants. Nor does it imply that Americans of immigrant descent are somehow lesser citizens. American success is the work of settler and immigrant alike. The propositional nation idea, that America's British origins are immaterial to our national character, is also a half-truth. One has

only to look at Mexico or Brazil to see how differently Spanish and Portuguese settler nations developed. An America that abandons its heritage and founding culture will be a different, and poorer, place. As Russell Kirk put it: "So dominant has British culture been in America, north of the Rio Grande, from the seventeenth century to the present (1993), that if somehow the British elements could be eliminated from all the cultural patterns of the United States—why Americans would be left with no coherent culture in public or in private life."

Why, then, such pressure to pretend that the United States is not really a country but an inhabited idea? One reason may be the attractiveness of the propositional nation idea to immigrant groups that do not want to feel second-class next to the natives. A benign motive but unnecessary: the United States accords no preference to settlers' descendants. Another is that the NOI, dedicated to a democratic proposition, provides a pretext for foreign interventionism: is it not the highest calling of such a state to democratize, through conquest and occupation if necessary, the less-fortunate rest of the world whence its immigrant-citizens came?

America's integrity is strained by multiculturalism, affirmative action, and mass immigration. The NOI creed is most convenient for those in government, ethnic pressure groups, and academia who want to cut America loose from her history and traditions to recast her as a multicultural *mélange* they can rule by distributing spoils to contending groups. In short, the creed has become a weapon for those who would dissolve America as it has evolved and replace it with something else. Those who would conserve this country need to know enough history to refute it. ■

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[pardon me, we got cut off]

Gulf War II: No Cakewalk

This time, logistical hurdles could produce a nasty surprise.

By William S. Lind

IN 1939, FRANCE assumed that World War II would go pretty much as World War I did. But it did not, and when Germany attacked in May 1940, the French army—by all accounts the finest in the world—was beaten in six weeks. Similarly, when the Germans planned Operation Barbarossa, the invasion of Russia in 1941, they assumed that Russia would be even easier to beat than in World War I. After all, the Russians had a nasty dictator nobody liked; they probably would not even fight for him. There was no need to issue winter clothing, because it would all be over by then. Four winters plus a few months later, the Red Army took Berlin.

Assuming the next war will go the same way the last one did has an unfortunate history. That history seems to be unknown in Washington, where the universal assumption is that the new war with Iraq will follow the same pattern as the last. And that pattern is itself misunderstood: far from being the greatest victory since Cannae, at the operational level Iraq's Republican Guard outperformed America's Seventh Corps, with the result that when we closed the trap, it was empty. Their operational retreat was conducted better than our operational advance.

The oddest assumptions on Washington's part are strategic. First, it assumes we can somehow defeat our real ene-

mies, which are non-state players such as al-Qaeda, by attacking states. On the contrary, whatever the other outcomes of an American attack on Iraq, non-state elements in the Islamic world will almost certainly emerge winners.

Second, Washington assumes that, just as last time, most of the Iraqis will not fight. After we have starved their women and children for more than ten years, that is a risky assumption. If they do fight, the new war will bear very little resemblance to the last.

This second assumption appears to be leading to an operational plan distinguished mainly by its fragility. As currently reported, the United States plans to attack with a very small force—two Army armored or mechanized divisions and a Marine Corps division-plus unit called an MEF—coming through a single port of entry, Kuwait, with one line of supply, running through the Persian Gulf. Saudi Arabia has served notice that this time it will not be used as a major staging ground for an American invasion. Ditto Turkey, where mountainous terrain plus limited road and rail networks also present a logistical nightmare.

Even a small force has vast logistical requirements. If its one port of entry is lost, or its single supply line cut, its survival is measured in days if not hours. And a force as small as this can only win

if everything goes right, which is to say, if the Iraqis do not fight. Like the Spanish Armada, it sails in expectation of a miracle.

Operationally, the great danger is not that the Iraqis will keep us out, perhaps by preempting and invading Kuwait before we arrive in enough strength to stop us. The great danger is that we get in and get cut off. At that point, we would lose an army, which to say the least would take the bloom off the rose of American invincibility.

If only in hope of encouraging some intelligent war-gaming in the Pentagon, it is worthwhile to review how that might happen. The vulnerability, again, is clear: we will apparently have one point (and one port) of entry and a single line of supply. How might Iraq go about cutting it?

An obvious way would be to use some sort of weapon of mass destruction on Kuwait City and its port. Saddam has probably not been able to build a nuclear device yet, but he might have bought one somewhere in the chaos of the former USSR. It could be delivered as well or better by truck or fishing boat as by missile. The same holds true for biological or chemical weapons, although the latter are hard to employ effectively and could probably be countered in time to keep that one, vital supply line open.

In gaming the situation, the question should not be can Saddam do it—we will only learn the answer to that the hard way—but what if he does? Perhaps the Marines' MEF could take the Iraqi port of Umm Qasr and get it operating in time to keep the army supplied. But history is not encouraging. Iraqi mines stopped the Marines last time, and American counter-mine capability is weak; we count on allies for that, who at present do not look as if they are going to show up. Mine-clearing is also slow, and if we suddenly cannot go through Kuwait, time will be everything. Umm Qasr, once taken, would still have to be made operable after what would probably be extensive Iraqi sabotage. If our war gamers are good, they should figure out that we ought to take Umm Qasr and get it operating before we go further into Iraq.

A second way Iraq could cut off our two divisions would be by operational maneuver. That would require the Republican Guard to maneuver against us in open terrain, which it cannot do in the face of our air power (especially the A-10s, our most effective combat aircraft and the one the Air Force most dislikes). But what if weather shuts our air power down? Our "all weather" aviation is only effective against fixed targets, not units on the move. A few days would be all the Iraqis would need. Could Iraqi armored forces hope to beat ours in open combat? On a one-for-one basis, probably not. But if our invasion force is only two divisions (the MEF is operationally immobile ashore), the Iraqis would not be fighting one-for-one. As Custer discovered, numbers count.

And if Iraq were to get lucky, its attacking armored units would not meet our own but cut in behind them, severing that one supply line. That is what operational maneuver is all about, and the same weather that would have shut down our aviation would also greatly

hamper our operational intelligence, which is heavily dependent on aerial observation. From Iraq's perspective, this option would be not a risk, but a gamble. Sometimes, desperate men do gamble for large sums.

More probably, the Iraqis will keep their best forces, the Republican Guard, in the major cities, daring us to come in and get them. That would not cut our supply line; it would simply absorb our small force the way eggplant absorbs cooking oil. Two divisions would not be enough even to besiege Baghdad effectively, much less take it, if the Iraqis fight.

To all this, the Pentagon will answer, "But we have vastly superior technology." The notion that war, the most complex of human endeavors, is determined by technology is the most expensive and most dangerous of military delusions.

At the beginning of the Vietnam War, a French journalist asked Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara what the French experience there meant for America. McNamara replied that what had happened to the French could not happen to the Americans; it was a question not of bravery but of technology. Hi-tech is great for justifying programs and budgets, but as the Serbs recently showed, thinking human beings can almost always find counters to it. In Kosovo, our vaunted hi-tech air power destroyed fourteen Serbian tanks.

If we look back again at that one entry port and one supply line, an even more interesting question concerns what might happen to them beyond anything Iraq could do. What if Iran were suddenly to enter the war against us? The war hawks in Washington are openly saying that after Iraq we should invade Iran. If the Iranians believe them, they would be well advised to go for us while and where we are most vulnerable. Could the Iranian air force and navy cut our supply line for long enough for

our army deep inside Iraq to dry up on the vine? Very possibly.

And what if Ariel Sharon takes advantage of the situation to expel the Palestinians into Jordan? The Islamic world would have no difficulty at that point in explaining why America attacked Iraq. Would the House of Saud fall? Would Saudi pilots start attacking American ships and aircraft on their own, without orders? Would the various Gulf sheiks get pushed through harps, to be replaced by al-Qaeda admirers who shut their ports and airfields to America, perhaps sending their missile boats out after our transports in the bargain? What would happen to the pro-American regimes in Pakistan and Egypt? If they go, our whole position in the region would collapse.

War offers such wonderful variety that we cannot come up with all the ways our one entry port and single supply line might be lost. The point is that, if current reports are correct, we will have just one entry port and one supply line. The war will hang by a single thread, and if anything cuts that thread, the world will enjoy the spectacle of an American army surrendering to Iraq, just as the Iraqi army surrendered to us last time. One wonders if that old French railway car is still around.

Strategically unnecessary and almost certainly counterproductive wars carried through by fragile operational plans based on highly favorable assumptions are not new to history. The great military historian Barbara Tuchman wrote a book about them, *The March of Folly*. One is tempted to send a copy of it to President George W. Bush. ■

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Permanent Coup d'État

The EU juggernaut derails democracy.

By John Laughland

ON OCT. 19, a referendum was held in the Republic of Ireland on the Treaty of Nice, the latest revision of the European Union constitution. The electorate voted in favor by more than 60 percent. This meant that the treaty has been duly ratified by all 15 present member states, and that the way is now clear for 10 more states to join by 2004. It also means that democracy is now effectively dead on the European continent—strangled to death slowly, and over more than a decade, by the European Union and the governments that compose it.

For the Irish had already voted once on the Treaty of Nice, in June 2001. The result of that referendum was No. The margin was comfortable and no one contested the regularity of the vote. That should have been the end of the story. Indeed, the Irish government should have notified the other EU states that the treaty could not pass and demanded a re-negotiation. Instead, it decided simply to ignore its own electorate. It told the other EU states to press ahead with their own ratifications, and that it would organize a second referendum the following year in the hope that, second time around, the Irish people would get the answer “right.”

Shocking though this is, it is not the first time that a European government has overruled democracy. The same thing happened in 1992, when Denmark voted against the Treaty of Maastricht. Like the Irish, the Danish government ignored the No vote in 1992 and held a second referendum in 1993. In the European Union, it is rather like in Iraq: the only permissible answer in referenda is Yes.

Democracy came under attack again in February 2000, when the European Union tried to destroy an elected government, Austria's. Elections the previous November had produced a strong showing for Jörg Haider's Freedom Party, which duly joined the governing coalition. Haider had started to kick up a fuss about the effects on Austrian jobs of admitting new member states to the EU: his party's election seemed to threaten the enlargement process. The other 14 EU states therefore announced a diplomatic boycott of Austria, the express aim of which was to remove the Freedom Party from power. In other words, the EU states arrogated to themselves the right to say whom the Austrians could and could not elect.

Finally, a few days before the Irish vote, so-called pro-European forces in the Netherlands caused the Dutch government to collapse. Following the elec-

arrangements had been properly negotiated. The Hague had even committed the crime of saying that it might veto the enlargement process until these matters had been sorted out.

Within a week, big Dutch companies moved against the political outsiders whom the voters had so irresponsibly elected, making it clear that they could not possibly forfeit Poland as an export market for their goods. The pro-European prime minister promptly pulled the rug from under his own government, causing a “caretaker government” (run by himself) to take charge until new elections are held in January. Although a new government could be elected immediately, this is being delayed until after the EU enlargement has been agreed, so that the process does not fall victim to any “populist” pressures about the effect on immigration, jobs, or taxes.

These four full frontal assaults on democracy all have the same explanation: the inexorable drive by the EU and its member governments for ever more unaccountable power that lies behind its transmutation from a trading bloc into a pan-continental super-state.

THE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL CULTURE IS ALREADY SO DEEPLY INGRAINED IN THE EU THAT ITS STATES SEE NOTHING WRONG WITH CANCELING THE RESULTS OF A REFERENDUM.

tion of dissident politicians led by Pim Fortuyn—the colorful anti-immigration politician who was shot dead in the street in May 2002 by a left-wing extremist—the new Dutch government had deviated for a few brief months from its usual path of stultifying conformism. In particular, one or two ministers had started to say they opposed the admission to the EU of Poland, a country of 40 million inhabitants, until the budgetary

Like the Maastricht treaty of 1992, which eviscerated the nation-states of Europe by removing their national currencies, the Nice treaty of 2001 removes from new and existing member states the ability to veto any future developments in the EU. Indeed, the whole purpose of the EU legal order is to disenfranchise states, their peoples, and their parliaments. The slightest flicker of any desire for national independence,

in the economic as much in the political field, is immediately attacked as "nationalism."

Indeed, the best way to understand the EU constitutionally is as a permanent *coup d'état*. Legislative power is sucked from national legislatures to governments, whose members meet each other in secret to pass laws that have been drafted, also in secret, by their own civil services and the unelected European Commission in Brussels. In only two countries, the United Kingdom and Denmark, do national parliaments even get to see this legislation before it is voted on: in neither case do they have any power to reject it.

Laws are therefore quite literally handed down from on high, without the public or any of the democratic institutions of state having had any role in voting for them. At each successive revision of the EU treaties, which happens every three or four years now according to the well-known Trotskyite principle of ensuring a permanent revolution, power is centralized even further. It is because the anti-democratic political culture is already so deeply ingrained in the EU that its states see nothing wrong with canceling the results of a referendum.

The manner in which the Irish government obtained the Yes on Oct. 19 was a textbook case of how to rig a vote. The entire media campaigned shamelessly for a Yes, some newspapers even putting "Why we should vote Yes" as headlines on their front pages the day before the poll. The opposition, by contrast, had no media outlet. The Yes campaign was able to spend some 20 times more than the No campaign, since all the main political parties, and the whole of the business community, was in favor of a Yes, while the No campaign was composed essentially of disparate citizens' groups. Employees of Ireland's big companies received e-

mails at work the day before the vote, warning them that they might lose their jobs if the vote was No. The Church was co-opted: one Jesuit priest wrote to all the priests in Ireland on European-Movement-headed paper explaining why they had to tell their parishioners to vote Yes, while the bishops also issued a call for a Yes vote—although it is impossible to say whether this was due to their inherent pro-Europeanism—or to a nod and a wink from the state that a new sex scandal brewing in the Church might be dealt with more leniently if they co-operated on Nice.

If a vote had been conducted under such conditions in Belarus, the cries of foul play would have resounded from

Vancouver to Vladivostock, but because it was the outcome was in favor of "Europe," the applause was deafening. Small wonder that those Eastern European leaders who were cracking open celebratory bottles of Guinness on Oct. 20 were, for the most part, former Communist apparatchiks and, in some cases, long-standing Central Committee members. They had good reason to rejoice: for them, it will be just like old times. ■

John Laughland observed the Irish referendum for the British Helsinki Human Rights Group (www.osce-watch.org) thanks to a donation from Sanders Research Associates (www.sandersresearch.com).

The King and I

Jordanian rulers worry that the Baghdad invasion will spur economic collapse and Sharon's "transfer dream."

By Arnaud de Borchgrave

AMMAN, Jordan—As the only American and non-Arab at the same luncheon table with King Abdullah II, two former Jordanian prime ministers, the head of the Diwan (Royal Court), the air force chief (who is the king's younger brother), and two prominent Arab international businessmen, one gets a fairly accurate idea of how the leadership of a close friend of the United States thinks about the gathering storm in the Middle East.

The consensus that emerged from private exchanges around the table and in subsequent conversations covered these main points:

- ▶ A U.S. war against Iraq is now a given. UN proceedings are a charade that gives the United States time to get its strategic assets in place throughout

the region. This should be done by Dec. 15, and the war is expected to begin early in the New Year.

- ▶ The hope is that the war will be short—no more than 10 days—but the fear is that a "siege of Baghdad" will take longer with unforeseen consequences, and that Saddam, seeing his days numbered, will set fire to the oil fields as he did in Kuwait 11 years ago. Jordan is between Iraq and a hard place—Israeli-occupied West Bank. The country cannot afford a two-front war. Jordan gets 60 percent of its oil free from Iraq and the rest bartered for vegetables.
- ▶ The inevitable U.S. victory must be followed up by a determined U.S. effort to nail down a lasting two-state solu-

tion finally to put an end to the Israeli-Palestinian war of attrition.

- Jordan's biggest worry is that Saddam Hussein will manage to fire one or two Scud missiles tipped with a chemical warhead of mass destruction into an Israeli city. This, in turn, would free Israel from its obligation to the Bush administration not to intervene against Iraq. Muslim masses the world over would then perceive a common U.S.-Israeli front against yet another Muslim country.
- Coupled with this fear is what is called "Sharon's transfer dream"—shorthand for Israel availing itself of the opportunity of the new crisis to turn Jordan into a *de facto* Palestinian state by

- The Jordanian army has been deployed along the border with the West Bank and along a desert frontier with Iraq with orders not to let in any refugees. Some 400,000 Iraqis already live in Jordan (out of a population of 5 million), and about 200,000 Palestinians have crossed into Jordan since Intifada II started two years ago. No new refugee camps will be allowed inside Jordan's borders. Jordanians well remember that during the 1990-91 Desert Shield/Storm period, Jordan was overrun by 1.5 million people fleeing Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.
- The Bush administration's ambitions to transform Iraq into a democratic Garden of Eden that would then

captured the Northwest Frontier province that borders Afghanistan and its capital city of Peshawar and where some Taliban and al-Qaeda personnel have been lying low since last December.

- Ahmed Chalabi, the titular head of the London-based Iraqi opposition, does not have a chance if a liberated multi-ethnic Iraq is to remain a unitary state. An Iraqi "Karzai"—the Afghan president—could not hold Iraq together in one piece. This would have to be the job of an Iraqi general under a U.S. proconsul. But, the Jordanians ask, does America have the staying power for the kind of nation building that will require at least a decade or more of focused effort?
- Like Nazi Germany or Soviet Russia, a successor state in Iraq could not function without the cadres of the previous regime. Some 150,000 people in Saddam's dreaded secret police cannot suddenly be excluded, or they will drift into the ranks of a terrorist underground.
- No one will be sorry to see Saddam go down in flames. Everyone remembers how Saddam, at the height of the Iran-Iraq war (1980-88) with hundreds of thousands already killed on both sides, told his cabinet he was thinking of stepping aside temporarily while one of his ministers negotiated a ceasefire. "I will be in the background and will, of course, return after the end of hostilities." The new minister of health, Riyadh Ibrahim, a close family friend who had been Saddam's doctor, said he thought it was a meretricious idea. Saddam went up to him, unholstered his sidearm, and shot him dead between the eyes. ■

Arnaud de Borchgrave is editor at large for UPI.

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THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S AMBITIONS TO TRANSFORM IRAQ INTO A DEMOCRATIC GARDEN OF EDEN THAT WOULD THEN BECOME THE LODESTAR FOR THE REGION IS A SELF-DELUSIONAL MIRAGE.

expelling tens of thousands of Palestinians from the West Bank to the east bank of the Jordan River. While the Israelis have privately assured Jordan that this is contrary to their policies, the Jordanians have yet to see a single public statement by any Israeli official stating as much. Prime Minister Ariel Sharon has long held the conviction that Jordan—whose population is already 60 percent Palestinian—will one day become a Palestinian state. Only decisive U.S. action after the coming war on Iraq can prevent the emergence of the Mideast equivalent of a Native American Indian reservation in the West Bank.

- Jordan's perception of Sharon's "Israelification" strategy in the West Bank is to transform the present situation of Jewish islands (settlements) in a sea of Palestinians into Palestinian islands in a sea of Israelis.

become the lodestar for the region is a self-delusional mirage. There is little realization in Washington that democracy would make the region even more anti-American than it already is by giving free rein to Islamist fundamentalist extremists. One-man-one-vote-one time would bring to power the kind of extremists that almost took over Algeria a decade ago and where some 100,000 have been killed in the civil war that followed.

- Jordan now has 30 political parties with a total membership of 10,000. With free elections tentatively scheduled next spring, King Abdullah is encouraging political mergers to narrow the field down to three—right, left, and center. The result of the Oct. 10 elections in Pakistan should be a wake-up call to America's democratic dreamers. Despite the rigging, anti-U.S. fundamentalists scored big—and

You Say You Want a Resolution?

The Security Council shell game **By D. Dowd Muska**

"WE MUST DEFEND the integrity of the United Nations Security Council!" It is not the on-to-Baghdad crowd's most inspiring rallying cry. And it is downright bizarre to watch self-professed conservatives carry the banner of the UN, an organization conservatism has bashed—and rightly so—for decades. But give the War Party credit: Its tactic of using Iraq's UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) violations to justify Gulf War II has worked with a sizable portion of the public:

The president's demand that the United Nations "live up to the purposes of its founding" has turned many globalists into hawks. Elites may loathe the military and recoil at the thought of any armed conflict, but as long as the White House couches its Iraq rhetoric in lofty UN-speak, opposing Bush would undercut the argument that global government is a good thing. As for skeptics of the UN, the constant references to Iraq's defiance of dictates laid down by a 15-member council that includes the world's five most powerful nations must sound pretty serious. It is one thing to be condemned by a couple hundred countries, most of which are run by nutty despots. It is quite another to flip the planet's big boys the bird.

The "Saddam is flouting international law" morality play has gained traction because enough people accept the claim that the only thing wrong with the Security Council is its unwillingness to enforce its resolutions. But even a cursory glance at the history of the world's titular policing mechanism reveals that *unenforced resolutions are not its only sins*. In fact, a surprising number of diplomats from around the world and

foreign-policy analysts from across the ideological spectrum agree: the Security Council serves not the interests of international law but the interests of Security Council members. And no member has used, abused, and ignored the Council for its own purposes more than the United States.

Understand the Security Council's true nature and you will understand why American diplomats have had a tough job cajoling—and even bribing—Russia, China, and France to provide a legal fig leaf for another war on Iraq.

As the sound bite goes, Saddam has violated 16 UNSCRs. Ergo, military action by "all member states" is entirely appropriate. If the Security Council's job truly is "the maintenance of international peace and security," then no nation should have the impudence even to question the need for Gulf War II.

The squabble becomes easier to grasp if one recognizes that the real agenda of the Security Council is, as an Iranian diplomat put it earlier this year, "to please [permanent members'] simple-minded intentions and interests"—a view the *Christian Science Monitor's* Michael J. Jordan shares: "In reality, the council is not the 'international community.' It's the leaders of America, Britain, France, Russia, and China, meeting behind closed doors."

A self-absorbed Security Council membership was not the goal of the UN's founders, but the way they chose to structure their global police department doomed the effort from the start. By giving each of the five most powerful nations the ability to veto any resolution, the UN Charter condemned the Security Council to irrelevance. With strategic,

economic, and ideological interests all over the world, the five permanent members soon began to veto resolutions they saw as threatening to themselves and their allies. That left only the most insignificant Third World hellholes to bear the brunt of the Security Council's finger-wagging. The end of the Cold War was supposed to change all that, and since the early 1990s the number and scope of UNSCRs has indeed expanded, but ignoring the Council's orders remains standard procedure.

The Middle East is the epicenter of Security Council schizophrenia. Arab diplomats are quick to point out that whatever Saddam's many sins against the UN, Israel is a far worse offender. Not much hasn't been said about the Israeli refusal to comply with the UNSCRs that call for an end to the Palestinian occupation and the Council's complete unwillingness to put any muscle, even if only economic, behind its demands. Less well known is the long list of resolutions Israel never got the opportunity to ignore. Since 1972, the United States has used its veto to kill dozens of UNSCRs aimed at its closest ally in the Middle East. During the last three decades, the Security Council has attempted to rebuke Israel for—among other things—its treatment of Palestinians, frequent incursions into Lebanon, and construction of settlements in the occupied territories. But these efforts were stopped by the United States, which has even blocked the Council's relatively harmless plans to send UN fact-finding missions to the region.

Israel is not the Middle East's only chronic UNSCR violator that Washington cannot be bothered to bomb. For two decades Syria has violated the Security Council's demand that all foreign powers leave Lebanon. U.S. ally Turkey

is another repeat offender: it is currently violating resolutions that target its invasion and occupation of Cyprus. Morocco is also a UNSCR scofflaw. It has yet to respond to the Council's demand that Moroccan forces leave Western Sahara, a former Spanish colony.

Not worried about Syrian, Turkish, or Moroccan belligerence? Then consider the threat posed by the nuclear powder keg on Asia's subcontinent. Both India and Pakistan are in flagrant violation of UNSCR 1172, passed in 1998, which demands that the two nations "immediately stop their nuclear weapon development programs." In response, the two nations have only intensified their efforts to develop and deploy the ultimate weapon of mass destruction.

India's nukes may not yet pose a danger to America, but Pakistan is the real-world version of the White House's Iraq fantasy: a nuclear-armed dictatorship with ties to radical Islamic groups. Under the "preemption doctrine," Pakistan's possession of A-bombs should be more than enough to persuade the White House to put American military might behind UNSCR 1172.

Africa is another cesspool of Security Council self-interest. Nonenforcement of the too-many-to-count UNSCRs aimed at brutal governments and nasty cross-border conflicts on the Dark Continent is the norm. One African example deserves special mention, because it serves as perhaps the best illustration of the Council's staggering hypocrisy. In 1994, about 800,000 Tutsis, an ethnic minority in Rwanda, were butchered by rival Hutus. There was nothing to stop the Security Council from approving a resolution to reinforce the small and underequipped UN military force already in the country. Nothing, that is, but the indifference of the Council's major players, none of which saw any reason to risk a Somalia-style disaster.

When it comes to the Security Council's "big five," the U.S. is hardly alone in its hypocrisy. Cases can easily be made against other permanent members, particularly Russia and China. For example, if Russia were not a permanent member, would the Security Council have hesitated to pass harsh condemnations of Yeltsin's and Putin's actions in Chechnya? And if China did not have a veto, would its occupation of Tibet and persecution of the Falun Gong sect not be targets of UNSCRs?

The Security Council process has never been used as a tool to apply the UN's version of "international law" fairly and evenly. But it has been a useful mech-

anism for global power politics—stifling any efforts to scrutinize the foreign adventurism of its permanent members and their allies and occasionally offering international legal cover for policies the great powers intended to pursue whether they obtained UN permission or not.

There is nothing new, then, in White House's attempt to get the UN's seal of approval for its invasion and occupation of Iraq. For Washington empire-builders, cynically manipulating the fundamentally dishonest UNSCR process is just another item on their to-do list. ■

D. Dowd Muska is a freelance writer in Connecticut.

They Paved Paradise

The loutishness of Left and Right

By Fred Reed

I RECENTLY DISCOVERED that I am a dangerous environmentalist, worse than Joseph Mengele and bin Laden, and just no damned good.

It was because I liked back-country camping. The mountains corrupted me. I can't see the advantage in having a trail covered with beer cans and styrofoam. Maybe there is a benefit, and I'm just slow and don't understand. But I didn't want to look at the stuff. I still don't.

Nor do I want a highway through the Grand Canyon, five malls, and some gooberish theme park with grinning plastic burros. I'm just primitive. I know. I'm just like Vidkun Quisling.

Further, scuba diving is a hobby of mine. Maybe I'm selfish, but I don't want the fish coated with industrial waste, or the mangroves, where things breed, turned into yuppie boxes by some rubicund illiterate of a real-estate developer who wants another Cadillac.

I grew up on the Potomac River, where people crabbed for a living until sewage killed the crabs. Environmentalists pushed through a treatment plant and things improved; I'm trying hard to see why this was unpatriotic. If conservatives want to swim in Washington's sewage, they're stranger than I thought, but it's their business. They can put it in their swimming pools. There's worse: I don't want children to eat lead paint. Yes. It's hard to admit in public, but I'm trying to be manful.

Actually, the whole debate is rife with fraud. To begin with, everyone thinks that the dispute is an ideological war between liberalism and conservatism. Why? In Russia, it was the Communists who fouled their country. About half of Russia is radioactive, and the rest is poisonous. In America, capitalism is far more economically efficient but also willing to run sweatshops, pollute the

ivers, make the air noxious — and profess the highest ideals while doing it.

Ideologies are just systematic ways of misunderstanding the world. They are the province of herd-thinkers, people who have the answer before the question and who always have the same answer. The more ardently liberal or conservative, the worse.

Environmentally, both Left and Right espouse virtue, but only when it suits them. If I suggest that maybe we don't really need to clearcut the redwoods to make decks for liberal yuppies who conservatives hate anyway, I am told that people need jobs. But isn't that an argument for expanding the federal bureaucracy? People need jobs?

Like Communists, capitalists express concern for the working class—when it is convenient. For example, when it comes to replacing workers with automation, suddenly efficiency is more important than jobs. Principle and profit always coincide. Isn't it remarkable?

Why do conservatives want to turn the country into an industrial desert? They don't. By no means do all conservatives favor irresponsible exploitation, any more than all liberals want to make us into robots. The problem is that the worst of both camps are noisiest and most angry, and therefore shape policy. The rest go along because they are uncomfortable when out of step.

There is conservatism, and there is Conservatism. Practitioners of the former believe in good grammar, solid liberal education, personal responsibility, self-reliance, minimal government, a strong military seldom used, quiet patriotism, equal opportunity instead of special privilege, and advancement by individual merit. The second group lean toward the hostility that characterizes all zealots. Truculence intrudes. They want to nuke'em till they glow, favor social Darwinism or a near relative, want to kill it, pave it, and bank it, and to

hell with any who can't keep up. We use the same word for both.

Here we come to one of the (few) fundamental differences between the far Left and far Right. The Left wants to maximize governmental power so that it can impose restraints on others, usually some tyrannous conformity that everyone hates but can't do anything about. The Right wants to minimize governmental power so as to avoid restraint on itself, typically so as profitably to abuse anything slow enough to be caught. Both want to behave badly. They just go at it differently. The Left likes group misbehavior. The Right prefers to freelance.

A highly explanatory element of angry anti-environmentalism is sheer aesthetic insensitivity. There are people who simply cannot tell that the Grand Canyon is a lovely thing that should not be made into a landfill. They may say that it's beautiful ("Huh? Oh yeah. Real nice.") because they know this to be the expected response. But they have no more genuine appreciation than a deaf man does for music. They honestly don't understand why anyone is upset. If you went to their homes, you would not find one decent picture on the wall that they chose themselves. Neither Left nor Right has a monopoly on loutishness.

Finally, there is embittered combativeness. The politically excited often do not greatly care about the things they say they care about. They just want to fight. During the Cold War conservatives didn't just hate Communists, who wore baggy pants and couldn't organize a sock hop. They hated liberals. Similarly liberals do not like blacks, whom they regard as shiftless. If they did care about blacks, they would favor real education reform. They hate conservatives and find blacks a useful mallet.

Often politics isn't about anything. It's just politics. The joy of bitterness outweighs concern for content. In the 1930s, Hitler discovered that it was

much easier to convert a communalist to Nazism than a contented burgher. Catholics have found that atheists make easier and more enthusiastic converts than do agnostics. Zealots want enemies, allies, and simple answers. They don't care which enemies, allies, etc.

Thus many conservatives on examination turn out to have little interest in the environment. They hate environmentalists, and hating environmentalists is easy. Often they are preening, snotty, incurable adolescents best dealt with by strangling.

In environmental politics as elsewhere, Left and Right need each other. Conservatives create much of the support for environmentalism by their hard-eyed rapacity. Environmentalists create much of the hostility to their cause by their unreasoning extremism. Neither sees, or wants to see, a middle ground.

And so the far Left favors any fool measure, provided that it is environmental; and the far Right opposes any environmental proposal, because it is environmental. This intellectual predestination is so numbingly predictable as to make sunrise seem a fluke. For example, it is perfectly possible to drill for oil without trashing the surroundings, build a pipeline that has no ill effects, and tear it all down when the field is exhausted. But both sides will fight to the death to avoid any such common-sensical solution.

Sometimes Conservatives seem as amoral as liberals seem immoral. The Left wants to degrade education, reward incompetence, and eliminate personal freedom. The Right would have us live in a mall-ridden, strip-mined wasteland. How, oh how, can I express my gratitude? ■

Fred Reed's writing has appeared in the Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, Harper's, and National Review, among other places.

Arts & Letters

FILM

[*The Truth About Charlie*]

An Aging New Wave

By Steve Sailer

LOS ANGELES — Jonathan Demme is not the most linear of thinkers. The nearly five minute-long speech he bumbled through when accepting his Best Director award for "Silence of the Lambs" remains perhaps the single most incoherent performance in Oscar history. It seems only fitting that Demme directed the Talking Heads' 1984 film "Stop Making Sense."

Still, there's much to be said for illogic when it comes bundled with Demme's abundant supply of zigzag lightning in the brain. With its sensational editing and perfect camera angles, "Stop Making Sense" may be the only rock concert movie that ever kept large audiences in their seats (or dancing in the aisles) all the way through.

Demme has also delivered wildly inventive comedies like "Melvin and Howard" and "Something Wild." In the 1990s though, he got bogged down with two leaden victimist dramas: the AIDS story "Philadelphia" and the Oprah Winfrey-Toni Morrison flop "Beloved."

In "The Truth About Charlie," Demme tries to climb out of this hole he has dug for himself by building his movie on a wacky what-if conceit. Remember that glossy 1963 romantic comedy-thriller "Charade," with Cary Grant and Audrey Hepburn in a preposterous but well-crafted Hollywood crowd-pleaser about

intrigue in Paris? Well, what if "Charade" had instead been made by Francois Truffaut, Jean-Luc Godard or one of the other Parisian New Wave directors of 1963?

These days, though, the demand in America for tributes to French cultural icons is nigh on nonexistent. The French joke has replaced the Polish joke as America's favorite ethnic slur. To be acclaimed a wit, just mention the French surrendering in World War II, or not bathing, or admiring Jerry Lewis. Try it. It's easy!

Yet, as the late Richard Grenier pointed out in *Commentary*, the New Wave auteurs were actually quite pro-American during their best years. Starting out as lowly film critics in the 1950s, these ambitious young men on the make realized that their stairway to fame was clogged by an older generation of French pro-Soviet intellectuals, such as Jean-Paul Sartre. So, to distinguish themselves from these Moscow-worshippers, Truffaut and Godard worshipped Hollywood, especially John Wayne movies.

When new President Charles DeGaulle started handing out cultural subsidies in 1958, the boys moved up to making exciting little movies in an aggressively casual style, using jagged editing, improvised dialogue, ramshackle lighting, and self-conscious references to earlier movies.

So, is remaking "Charade" in the manner of "The 400 Blows" or "Breathless" another one of Demme's strokes of genius? Sadly, no. "The Truth About Charlie" is fairly awful—inept, unfunny, and pointless.

Why? "Charade" resembles last year's "Ocean's Eleven"—a piece of fluff with no justification other than its transcendent professionalism.

But what a refutation of the French

auteur theory "Charade" is! The director, Stanley Donen of "Singing in the Rain" fame, is no slouch, but look at all the other talent involved. Cary Grant is No. 2 on the American Film Institute's list of male screen legends, and Audrey Hepburn is No. 3 on the distaff side.

Then there's the supporting cast: Walter Matthau, James Coburn, and George Kennedy, each an Oscar winner. And the score was by Henry Mancini during that short spell when he was the most exciting film composer ever.

Strip away all this glamour and expertise, and you are left with a nearly incomprehensible storyline about a woman who learns her late husband stole a lot of money from his scary cohorts and now they want it back.

The New Wave is notoriously not new anymore. Its innovations have become so widespread that "Charlie," with its jerky handheld cameras and sickly lighting, will remind audiences more of an episode of "Cops" than of "Alphaville."

There's no point in criticizing stars Mark Wahlberg ("Planet of the Apes") and Thandie Newton ("MI-2") for not being Cary Grant and Audrey Hepburn. Demme, though, is too busy amusing himself with tiny in-jokes — such as having various elderly actors from New Wave classics make cameo appearances — to ensure that his stars look attractive. He introduces Wahlberg with a shot from below that emphasizes the beefcake's burgeoning jowls. And Demme largely ignores Newton's exquisite profile in favor of driver's-license quality mug shots highlighting the bags under her eyes. Having Newton play the heroine as a complete ninny doesn't help either.

Demme says, "Paris is (now) a much more overtly diverse city. We really played to that." His fascination with multiculturalism was a major asset in

1986's "Something Wild," but 16 years later, it's old news. Worse, focusing on what's no longer French about Paris makes the City of Light look like a host of other multiethnic big cities, such as London or Toronto. "Charade" was set in the "Paris!" of dreams. In "The Truth About Charlie," though, Paris looks more like "Sydney on the Seine." ■

Rated PG-13 for some violence and sexual content/nudity.
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BOOKS

[*The War Against the Terror Masters*, Michael Ledeen, St. Martin's Press, 262 pages]

The War Against the World

By Justin Raimondo

IT IS A CASE of the chicken hawks counting their eggs before they hatch: *The New York Times* reports that the administration is "coalescing" around "a detailed plan, modeled on the postwar occupation of Japan, to install an American-led military government in Iraq." This news may come as a shock to those Republicans who still quail at the thought of "nation-building"—especially when one considers that the U.S. military occupation of Japan continues to this day. But to readers of Michael Ledeen's *War Against the Terror Masters*, this bright idea has a familiar ring to it.

Holding up the example of postwar Germany and Japan as models for a post-Saddam Iraq, Ledeen avers, "paradoxically, we advanced the cause of freedom by violently undemocratic means." But there is more involved here than mere hubris: arguing that deterrence will not work against suicide bombers, he writes, "We will therefore need to demonstrate that radical

Islamism is a road to humiliation and defeat, not a pathway to glory." The Middle East, as currently constituted, must be utterly destroyed in a regional war, which, he predicts, will closely follow an invasion of Iraq—and this is a good thing, he believes, because it will give us a chance to "ensure the fulfillment of the democratic revolution." As Ledeen puts it:

Creative destruction is our middle name, both within our society and abroad. We tear down the old order every day, from business to science, literature, art, architecture and cinema to politics and the law. Our enemies have always hated this whirlwind of energy and creativity, which menaces their traditions (whatever they may be) and shames them for their inability to keep pace.... We must destroy them to advance our historic mission.

Ledeen—or Lenin? One might easily be forgiven for asking.

The author hopes a destructive dynamism will transform the Middle East—not only Iraq, but also Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and beyond. The governments of all these countries must be overthrown, according to Ledeen, either by a U.S.-supported internal rebellion or by outright military invasion. The neo-conservative Cultural Revolution in the Middle East threatens to be even bloodier than the Chinese Marxist original. Like Mao and the Gang of Four, the radical Ledeen wants to sweep the historical slate clean—to erase the religious and cultural basis of a civilization far older than our own—and create new traditions on the ashes of the old. But first, the conflagration:

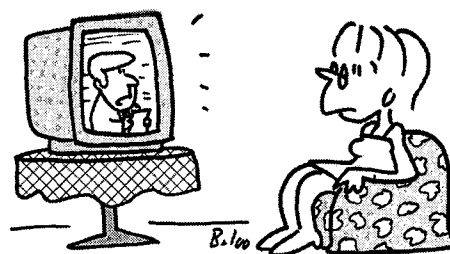
"Our unexpectedly quick and impressive victory in Afghanistan is a prelude to a much broader war, which will in all likelihood transform the Middle East for at least a generation, and reshape the politics of many other countries around the world."

Never mind that tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of people will die in such a

regional cataclysm. As the Soviet commissars used to say in defense of their feats of social engineering, "You can't make an omelet without breaking a few eggs." Hailing a new world war as a great step forward for mankind might still seem, to some, a signal act of madness, but in our nightmarish post-9/11 world such bombast is not only taken seriously, it is semi-official U.S. government policy. The value of Ledeen's book is as a guide to the ideology and action program of the War Party's radical wing, which seems to have captured control of the White House.

Ledeen's argument is not very convincing: his text is riddled with wholesale evasions, contradictory assertions, and overblown rhetoric. No distinction is made between al-Qaeda, Iraq, Iran, the Saudis, and the Egyptians: they are all Arabs, or at least not Israelis, and they are all in on the Islamist conspiracy, cogs in the Terrorist Machine. While the analogy to international Communism in the Cold War era is not exact—Islamism is multi-polar, not monolithic—Ledeen does not burden us with too many facts. This is a book practically bereft of footnotes, one in which the assertions of the author are to be taken at face value.

The author is hard put to refute the persuasive theory of Chalmers Johnson, who sees phenomena like al-Qaeda as "blowback"—the unintended consequences of foreign intervention. We, after all, built up the Afghan resistance (dubbed "freedom fighters" during the Cold War) that later coalesced



"The Federal Government today authorized a ten-year study of all its five-year studies..."

into bin Laden's terrorist network. Ledeen can only manage the rather dubious assertion that it "was not an excess of zeal but a lack of engagement and follow-through" that led to the empowerment of Ladenism. Presumably if we had only invaded and occupied Afghanistan *earlier*, we could have "dismantled the Mujahideen networks" we funded, organized, and armed with Stinger missiles.

In a book that otherwise reads like a paean to the rightness of Israel's cause, it is strange to see an open admission of that nation's terrorist roots. In a discussion of how terrorism tends to be counterproductive, he points to three exceptions: the African National Congress, the PLO, and "Zionist terrorism against the British in Palestine (which contributed to the creation of the state of Israel)." So then why are they the good guys?

The makeshift construction of this book makes the whole edifice creak audibly when Ledeen dives into one of his favorite subjects, the "liberation" of Iran. He holds up Bill Clinton and Madeleine Albright as patsies for Khomeini—who supposedly believed that the Ayatollah overthrew Shah Reza Pahlavi because the Iranian government was "excessively repressive and intolerant." While it would not do to come right out and deny the savagery of the Shah's legendary SAVAK secret police, Ledeen informs us that, under the monarch's beneficent rule, "Iran had become too modern, too tolerant—especially of women and of other religious faiths—and too self-indulgent. The shah had Westernized Iran"—except, perhaps, in his prisons, where the ancient methods of torture were routinely employed on dissidents of all sorts.

Ledeen conflates Ladenite medievalists with the secular socialists of Iraq's Baathist regime and throws Sunnis, Shi'ites, Wahabists, and Alawites together under the general rubric of "the terror masters." The effect is rather like a used car salesman talking at a very rapid clip, slurring his words into one long litany of dubious claims. As "evi-

dence" for the al-Qaeda-Iraq connection we are given the assertion of one David Wurmser that Saddam has "lately encouraged the rise, in Iraq's northern safe haven, of Salafism, a puritanical sect tied to Wahabism" and that "one of these Salafi movements turns out to be a front for bin Laden." Such a tenuous connection seems like an awfully thin thread on which to hang the invasion, devastation, and military occupation of a country.

According to a number of reports, bin Laden offered to help defend the Saudi kingdom against a possible incursion from Saddam in 1991, provided the Saudi government rejected the stationing of U.S. troops on the holy soil of his home country. A recent issue of *Al Majallah*, a Saudi magazine, features an interview with Abd-al-Rahman al-Rashid, in which the al-Qaeda spokesman says that Saddam Hussein "is at the top of Al-Qa'ida's assassination list." Saddam, he announces, "is exactly like Bush in barbarism, cruelty, and unbelief." I guess Mr. Al-Rashid has not seen the Ledeen book, or else he would know that bin Laden and Saddam are *really* allies.

We are also treated to a dutiful reiteration of the alleged meeting in Prague between Mohamed Atta and an Iraqi agent, a myth dispelled by Michael Isikoff and Robert Novak, among oth-



"I thought you needed a challenge, so I declared war on the Austro-Hungarian Empire for you."

ers, who point to the FBI's denials—and the impossibility of being in two places at once. According to the FBI, records show Atta was in Virginia Beach checking out naval facilities as possible targets at the time this legendary powwow was supposed to have occurred.

But Ledeen is not entirely wrong when he makes the important point that "one of today's most misleading conventional generalizations about the Islamic world is the suggestion that members of different sects or traditions cannot work together in a common enterprise." The whole point of U.S. policy in the region seems to be driving them together out of a common cause: survival. In which case, Ledeen's dictum becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. But the author's point about the pragmatic necessities that dictate trans-sectarian cooperation can be taken even further, as the Israeli connection to the early history and success of Hamas dramatically confirms.

The rise of Hamas is a textbook case of "blowback" aimed directly at its earliest sponsor and protector—Israel. For the Israelis "aided Hamas directly," says Tony Cordesman, Middle East analyst at the Center for Strategic Studies. Hamas was originally registered as a legal organization in Israel in 1978 under the name *Al-Mujamma al Islami* by Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, their fire-brand spiritual leader. "According to U.S. administration officials funds for the movement came from the oil-producing states and directly and indirectly from Israel," reported UPI terrorism correspondent Richard Sale in June. "The PLO was secular and leftist and promoted Palestinian nationalism. Hamas wanted to set up a transnational state under the rule of Islam, much like Khomeini's Iran."

Israel's strategy of divide and conquer boomeranged badly when one of the severed tentacles of the terrorist monster began to take on a life of its own. The religious-based proto-Ladenite movement, nurtured by Israeli covert support, began to recruit heavily in the wake of the Iranian revolution. Today,

far more radical and violent rivals challenge a weakened Arafat, and Hamas is the PLO's leading competitor.

Israel's amen corner in the U.S., of which Ledeen is a leading light, often inveighs against the alleged sin of "moral equivalence" when it comes to the Israelis and the Palestinians. Israel, we are told, is our best ally in the war on terrorism, but who are the "terror masters" in this instance? Sheikh Yassin or those who initially funded and supported his movement of teenaged suicide bombers?

Near the end of his screed, Ledeen cites the late Luigi Barzini on the rise of Caesarism in ancient Rome: "How can men, who are dedicated to liberty and the defense of their own independence, efficiently dominate subject peoples, without damning their own soul?" "We believe," Ledeen writes, "that our ideas are more powerful than those of the terror masters, and that, once liberated, the peoples of the Middle East will embrace our ideas and join with us."

Surely, then, ideas of such awesome power do not need to be exported at gunpoint. Why, in that case, do we have to go to war with practically everyone in the Middle East before they all become convinced Jeffersonian democrats?

It is extremely odd that this book ends with a self-refutation, but there is no other way to describe it. The author cavalierly informs us that his program of world conquest is very risky and tells us a story about how Machiavelli was a great card player who "ruefully admitted that the best one can hope for is to have good luck about half the time. But that should be enough for us."

No, it is not enough. What if we take an empire, lose our old republic, and follow our British, Byzantine, and Roman ancestors into the graveyard of imperial ambitions? What will Ledeen and his fellow would-be *conquistadores* say then—"tough luck"? ■

Justin Raimondo is editorial director of Antiwar.com and author of An Enemy of the State: The Life of Murray N. Rothbard.

[*Wealth and Democracy*, Kevin Phillips, Broadway Books, 474 pages]

As The Gap Widens

By Dwight D. Murphey

WEALTH AND DEMOCRACY can be seen as a follow-up to Kevin Phillips' 1990 book, *The Politics of Rich and Poor*. It is not, however, a mere update, because it extends its vision to cover a number of other facets, including the disparities of wealth in American economic history from the 1790s to the present.

The book has considerable substance and extensive factual detail about several themes that are interesting in themselves. Leading among these is his phase theory about major economic powers. "The similar trajectories of the previous leading economic powers present a powerful argument for stages of development that the U.S. is itself following," Phillips claims. The phases can be seen in the rise and fall of sixteenth century Spain, seventeenth century Holland, and nineteenth century Britain. In the United States and the others, Phillips sees a progression from initial vitality and commercial expansion to erosion and weakness, accompanied by complacency during a period of economic, ideological, and military triumphalism. He especially describes this latter phase in which each society has lived off its accumulated strengths, has transferred capital and technology to others, has moved strongly into finance rather than continuing with actual production, has seen the rise of powerful competing economies, and has experienced an ascendancy of the conspicuously rich while at the same time unemployment has risen, and the workforce is sullen.

The concern, of course, is that the United States is in its terminal phase as a leading economic power. Readers are advised, however, to keep in mind the

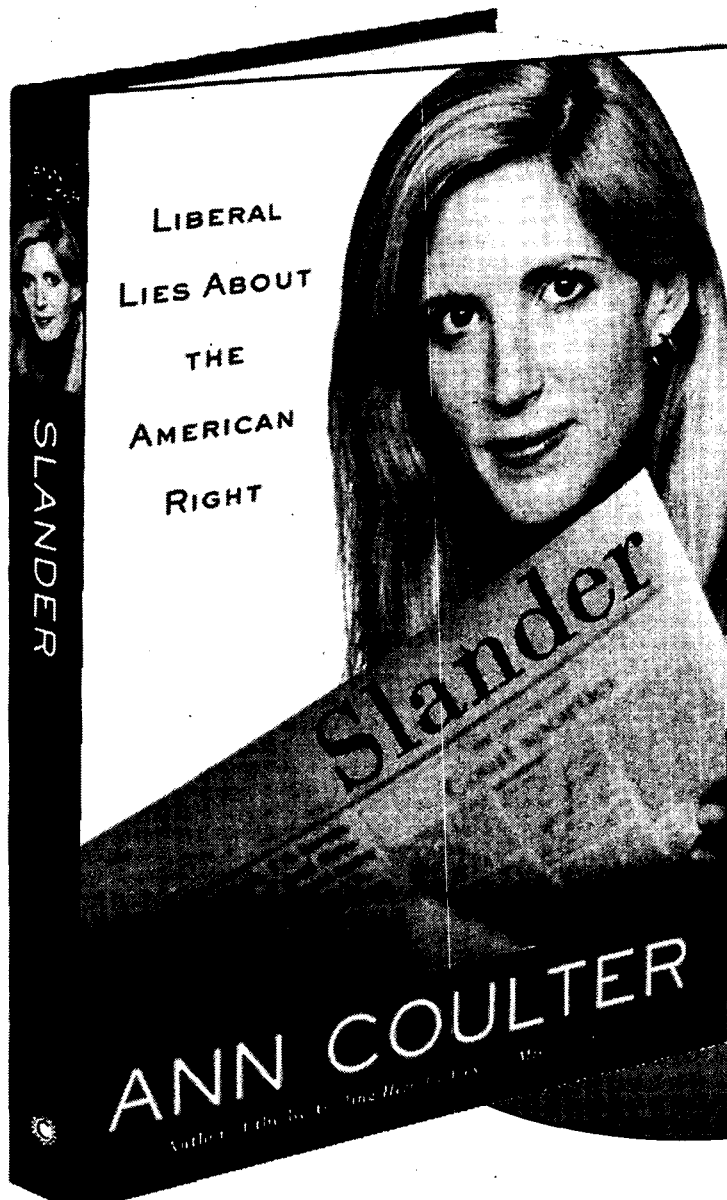
speculative nature of such historical analogies. The idea that "Financialization" leads to vulnerability and decline may well be true, but Phillips himself notes that it was actually an exhausting war that brought Spain, Holland, and Britain off their respective pinnacles. This mixes and confuses the causal message. The present-day United States, involved in a "war against terror" and extended throughout the world in a melioristic interventionism, may well become involved in exhausting warfare, completing the analogy. But that remains to be seen. The United States' economic progression is something that anyone attentive to American well being will want to follow closely, however, and Phillips's book gives much to ponder.

Another theme is the polarization of wealth and income, which Phillips traces in its ebb and flow from 1790 to the present. His comparison is especially of the "top 1 percent" to a variety of segments of the remainder of the population. Most pertinent to us today is that Phillips sees an extraordinary expansion of wealth by the top few in the 1980s and 1990s while there has been "a relative stagnation of the middle class and a decline in the net worth of the bottom 60 percent of Americans." The quality of life of the average American, he says, has declined dramatically, with wives working to help maintain family income, longer working hours, decreasing job benefits, longer commutes, and a shift to temporary and part-time employment.

This is a theme the American Left has stressed in a number of books during recent decades. The hue and cry about the polarization became muted during the boom psychology of the late 1990s (re-enforced, almost certainly, by an unwillingness of the Left to attack while Clinton was president). Phillips' contribution to what the Left has already said is largely to bring the data up to date.

Most conservatives, whose thought centers on the purist forms of libertarian and free-market ideology, will consider the subject of economic polarity a non-issue. Wealth is the hallmark of

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energy, ability, and entrepreneurial insight—and there is no such thing as “too much” success. Those who do not fare as well are perverse if they see the cause of their failure in the achievements of the rich.

A third theme of *Wealth and Democracy* is that government has at all times played a substantial role in the economy and in the creation of wealth. This means that *laissez-faire* has not been the characteristic feature in American reality. This relates closely to Phillips’ rejection of pure free-market ideology, which he sees as “market idolatry and economic Darwinism.” He would assign the market an essential but subordinate role: “Markets must be reestablished as adjuncts, not criteria, of democracy and representative government.”

Again, the American Right will disagree over this. The conservatism of Russell Kirk and Richard Weaver and their successors, for example, has never been centered on market theory and has, in fact, opposed much of the vision of a commercial civilization. I have been a classical liberal all my life, but this has not kept me from thinking it unfortunate that classical liberalism in the nineteenth century permitted itself to be primarily an economic doctrine rather than a completely elaborated theory of civilization. I have considered it even more unfortunate that classical liberals in the 20th century, pushed off onto an ideological margin, have become increasingly doctrinaire, leading to a reductionist philosophy that leaves much out of account. I would go much further than Phillips, in fact, in emphasizing the prospective crisis faced by capitalism as technology and global markets advance and undercut the hundreds of millions of people who inevitably will not and cannot have the skills that will be demanded.

If there is something to this (and many deny that there is), those who wish to conserve the institutions and values of a free society will have much radical thinking to do in the years ahead. And they will face this challenge in a context where the world and even

the American population are little inclined to care about their thinking one way or the other.

If we are to be critical of *Wealth and Democracy* in any fundamental sense, it should be for what the book does not explore. Phillips expresses apprehension over polarization and American economic decline, but it seems to me that that is just one of at least four major challenges to American success and even America’s existence. The other three challenges are the United States’ post-1898 self-assigned mission to intervene throughout the world for the world’s self-improvement, which is an impossible and quixotic task; the willingness of America’s and Europe’s ruling class to flood the West with Third World immigrants, changing forever the flavor and content of our societies; and the lack of will on the part of the American people to stand up in the culture war that is carried on relentlessly against them by the Left and the countless trucklers who conform themselves to it.

All books cannot address all subjects, however, and it is perhaps not to be expected that a given book do more than present its portion of the truth. Phillips’ book does a provocative and informative job on the part that it addresses. ■

Dwight D. Murphey is professor of economic history at Wichita State University.

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Sniping At Soft Targets

WHEN THE AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI issued a *fatwa* on Salman Rushdie's head back in 1989, Pat Buchanan and I were probably the only two writers who did not huff

and puff at the outrage of it all and did not demand that George Bush go to war against Iran if "one hair on Rushdie's head is touched by someone working for Iran or seeking to claim the bounty" (Richard Cohen's rather infamous words). If memory serves, Pat suggested that the Anglo-Indian go to Nicaragua for help, Rushdie having advertised the Sandinistas as the best government on the planet. My suggestion was a good beating by the faithful, perhaps even a kneecapping.

The reason for my lack of Christian compassion was Salman Rushdie's unparalleled hypocrisy and opportunism. (I also wrote that he should be protected.) Rushdie had often described England and America as racist police states, referred to Mrs. Thatcher as Mrs. Torture in his unreadable *Satanic Verses* and had called the Prophet Mohammed, Mahound, which is as filthy a name as one can come up with in the Muslim world. The irony was, of course, that Margaret Thatcher spent tens of millions of taxpayers money on protecting the phony Rushdie although the Anglo-Indian never once said thanks. Opportunists like Christopher Hitchens and Martin Amis grabbed the limelight by holding press conferences and denouncing the *fatwa* as an assault on free speech. Rushdie bathed in glory, divorced his wife—who openly called him a coward—and turned himself into a social catch for radical chic overnight. Such are the joys of being a left-wing charlatan who writes unreadable books

attacking western culture. But remember, when all this took place the Cold War was still on, and the bums I mentioned above were all firmly on the side of the nice and cuddly Soviet Union.

Needless to say, Rushdie offered everything but a Monica Lewinsky on Khomeini, but the *fatwa* stayed. I remember seeing Rushdie at a party and never have I seen a more hateful look. Where Salman Rushdie went wrong was picking on Islam. Unlike Christians, Muslims are not best pleased when their religion is insulted. Sal baby should have picked on Christianity in general and the Catholic Church in particular. Catholics will accept anything and everything including the "blood" libel that Pope Pius XII was Hitler's Pope, which brings me to the point I wish to make.

The "bad" reputation of Pius XII owes a great deal to the notorious Hochhuth fictional play of 1963. Rolf Hochhuth was a former member of the Hitler Youth whose play "The Deputy" single-handedly managed to convince lots of people who were only too pleased to be convinced that Pius XII was lenient towards Hitler. (A film titled "Amen," by Costas-Gavras, another opportunist and cheap-shot artist par excellence, based on "The Deputy" is being released this year.)

Here are the facts: Pope Pius XII was forced to devote himself to secretly helping the Jews for obvious reasons. The Germans considered the Vatican to be obstinately against their anti-Jewish

policies and were threatening to accelerate deportation of Jews if the Vatican continued to resist. In other words, the Pope had to be careful in his pronouncements lest they do more harm than good. Before the warning, the Pope had issued non-stop public denunciations of Nazi racism, first as papal nuncio in Bavaria, as secretary of state under Pius XI, and finally as Pope. So much so, in fact, he was lampooned as a Jew-lover by German newspapers and accused of being Jewish. Pius also had an intolerable burden within his flock: the neutral Irish (with de Valera an open admirer of Hitler), the neutral Spanish, Portuguese, and pro-Axis Italians.

The truth is that the Catholic Church headed by Pius XII was heroic in its secret efforts to save Jews, and it did manage to save 700,000 Jewish lives. The thanks it got for its efforts were Hochhuth, Costas-Gavras, Cornwell, and Daniel Goldhagen. Before I get to the last, here is my colleague John Laughland writing in the *Spectator* of London: "Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Pius XII was the object of adulation by Jews and Gentiles alike.... as Rabbi David Dalin has shown, the people who showered official and public praise on Pius XII include Albert Einstein in 1940; Chaim Weizmann in 1943; the Chief Rabbi of Israel in 1944; the secretary of the World Jewish Congress in 1945; Moshe Sharett, Israel's second prime minister in 1945; the State of Israel in 1955; and Golda Meir on his death in 1958." The Chief Rabbi of Rome, Israel Zolli, converted to Catholicism in 1944 in recognition of the Pope's personal record of saving Jews. Yet all this was overturned single-handedly by a former Hitler Youth who was in bad

need of some publicity. It speaks volumes for our culture when an opportunistic fantasist can ruin a saintly life with a big lie. Which brings me to another opportunist, Daniel Goldhagen.

Danny boy obviously learned a lesson from the Salman Rushdie fiasco: don't fool around with people who will fight back. Pick on soft targets, and there's no one softer than the Catholic Church. Goldhagen swept to "prominence" six years ago with his one-sided condemnation of the German people in his dubious opus in which he argued that German popular culture contained so much anti-Semitism all Germans willingly went along. Even my friend Paul Johnson, an extremely philo-Semitic writer, called Goldhagen's work tendentious with a confused moral philosophy. Now Goldhagen has turned the spotlight on the Catholic Church in Europe, leaving Catholicism in America out in the cold, so to speak.

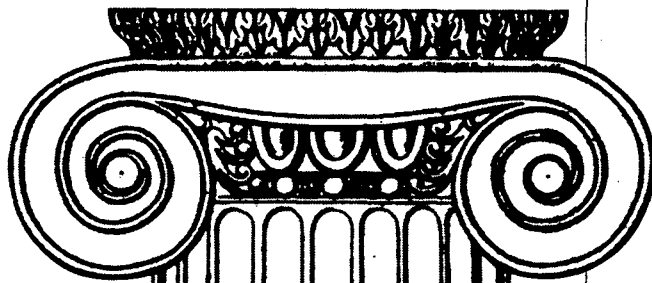
Goldhagen wants moral reckoning for the hostility the Catholic Church has shown towards Judaism these last 2000 years. He thinks John Cornwell's *Hitler's Pope* did not go far enough. He wants the "institutional descendants" who bear no individual responsibility to atone for the errors of the past. His real target, in my book at least, is 2000 years of Christian teaching by the Church.

Given that here in America there is freedom of speech for Muslims, Jews, Hindus, Buddhists, Atheists, Agnostics, and at times even Catholics, I will not serve a *fatwa* on the miserable Goldhagen or on the lying John Cornwell. In Europe there are already so called obscenity laws that forbid the insulting of anyone else's religion. I do not propose such laws, but perhaps some

Catholic lawyer over in the old country could sue Goldhagen for insulting Catholicism and Christianity with his vile book. Spending some time with lawyers would do Goldhagen a world of good. Better yet, a good punch in the nose would do just fine, and I'm just the man to do it.

■

And while I'm at it—the Catholic Church, that is—a Borgia exhibition in Palazzo Ruspoli in Rome (Dado Ruspoli, a great Don Juan and a very old friend, thinks his palace is the perfect setting for it) coincides with the latest effort to rehabilitate Lucrezia Borgia, one of the most notorious members of the Borgia dynasty—Spanish nobles who controlled the Papacy through intrigue, marriage, and not a small amount of murder during the 15th and 16th centuries. 234 works from 54 museums are exhibited in one of the most romantic palaces of Rome, and the aim of the show, according to a leading expert, is to put the record straight. According to the organizers, Lucrezia Borgia poisoned no one but was poisoned by the pen of history. The Borgias are the victims of biased historical accounts, say the experts, although they admit that Lucrezia did kill with a sword. (Oh well, no one's perfect.) Lucrezia was born in 1480 and married three times. Her first hubby, Giovanni Sforza, was impotent, and I suspect in order to protect his name he spread rumors of incest. (The present Prince Sforza, another friend, is anything but impotent and hates spreading rumors.) After being impregnated by her father's emissary, she was nevertheless later declared a virgin by the Vatican. Win some, lose some. ■



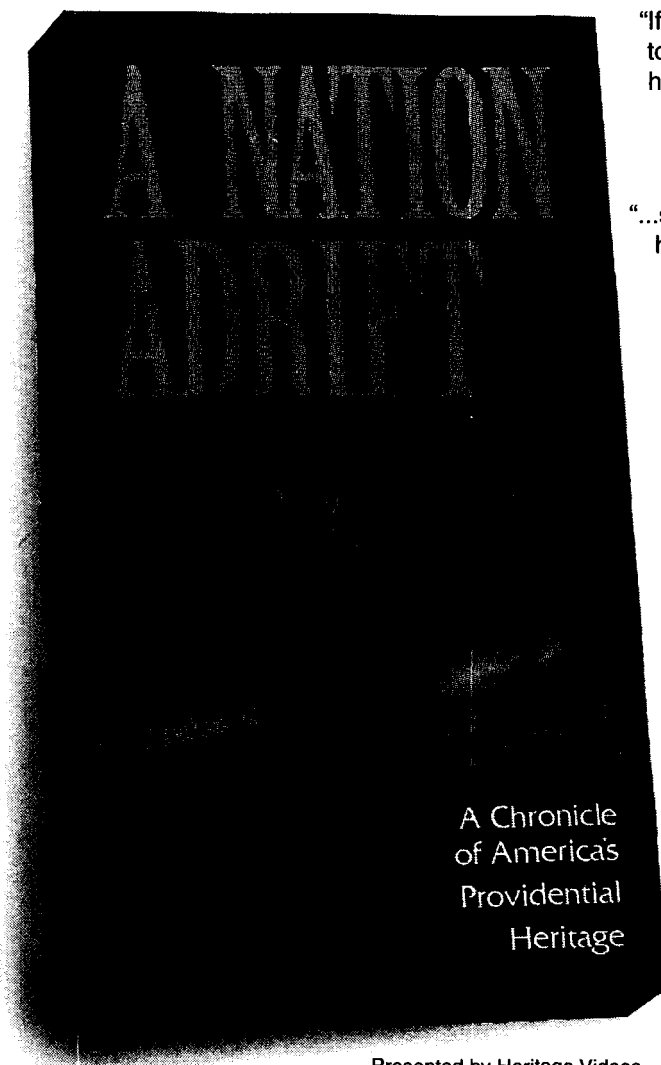
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